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Our foreign policy needs revision

The Expert in Government

IV—International Politics

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THE preceding articles of this series, Professor Beardsley's, Mr. Mark Starr's and my own, concur in one salient point: to solve the mounting problems, national and international, which darken the threshold of the atomic age, we need a new kind of expert whose specialized knowledge is cast in the broad perspective of human, social values. We also need an alert, informed public which will not be stampeded by blind fears or fatuous, utopian hopes. In past crises, the price exacted by ignorance was chaos. But, since Hiroshima, that price dooms all the decent promise which human life holds. Now more than ever before, "where there is no vision, the people perish." A sauce-pan full of plutonium may soon provide power and light for a whole city. The same amount can now consume the city and its inhabitants in a miasma of deadly fumes and ashes.

We have slept uneasily on this Either-Or for over a year. The problem now is in the hands of statesmen and experts—the men about the President, the State Department, the Foreign Service—and the anonymous men who stand behind them. Never before have such momentous responsibilities rested on the expert. The people cannot make foreign policy. Public opinion provides at most either a broad mandate which politicians and their advisors interpret and apply in the welter of international events, or disapproval of current policies or acts. And even here public opinion is, to a large extent, a product of what the public press says and the statesmen and politicians do about international affairs.

To be sure, it is easier to criticize foreign policy than to shape it across the green baize of the conference table. The expert in foreign affairs, if he represents a nation practicing civil liberties, is exposed to the cross-fire of the political Right and Left. His position is not an enviable one. But this is as it should be. The expert in foreign affairs is human. His political inclinations and personal prejudices, the day's crop of rumors, the personalities and atmosphere of a conference, and the

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impatience born of sheer fatigue and boredom—all are likely to weight the scales even in critical decisions of state. An enlightened public opinion freely expressed in public debates on foreign policy helps to counterpoise these intrusions to a degree at least.

The crucial objective of our foreign policy is the avoidance of another war. The peoples of the world are sick of war and benumbed by the fear of more wars to come. Does our foreign policy allay these fears? Where are the experts taking us?

The mushroom cloud towering over Hiroshima was more than a monument to the scientific revolution which had delivered this raw power into human hands. It was a funeral pyre of the obsolete social and political stereotypes by which we have been living. Had this situation been as pointedly clear at San Francisco as it was four months later, the United Nations Charter might have emerged in a form better suited to the needs of this crisis. As it was, the Charter became obsolete the moment the political and social implications of atomic fission were understood.

The mentality of the experts who drafted the Charter, and the expectations of the peoples of the world as well, were conditioned by the cultural lag which has long befuddled the political judgment of Western peoples. It was generally acknowledged that the fatal weakness of the old League of Nations lay in its impotence to enforce decisions. But this, it was explained, was a consequence of according equal status to all sovereign states regardless of their size or power. The new Charter was to avoid this defect by lodging the responsibility for keeping the peace in the Big Five. This sort of realism flowered naturally in an age of immense concentrations of power. But there was an uneasy consciousness, among experts and the reading public, that the end of preserving peace and justice under law could not be achieved short of creating a world state with power to legislate and to enforce world law. The framers of the Charter judged, however, that the governments and peoples of the world were not yet ready for that radical step, not even as World War II approached its grim climax.

Taking into account all reliable indices of world opinion, this judgment was amply justified. Though the United Nations had been formed into a working coalition in the forge of war, once the common enemy was vanquished, individual nationalisms re-emerged, fanned into high intensity by the excitements and sacrifices of war. Coalition in war does not insure solidarity in peace.

In anticipation of this turn, President Roosevelt had insisted at Yalta that the first steps, in shaping the United Nations into an instrument for enforcing the peace, be taken while the nations were joined in the prosecution of the war.

The much-disputed veto power was, thus, a logical and necessary reservation. The Charter presupposed the voluntary participation of sovereign states in a scheme of collective security. If, in the absence of the veto power, the council of nations should decide, by a simple or two-thirds majority, to enforce a

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decision on a major power, a state of war would be precipitated immediately. President Roosevelt was unwilling to cast a proposal harboring such risks before the United States Senate and the American people, both still latently isolationist. So he proposed the veto power for the Big Five. This was eagerly seconded by Russia where old-fashioned nationalism is even more prevalent than in the United States. It was a question of a charter with the veto or no charter at all.

Even the most optimistic were not blind to the faults of the Charter. But it was a beginning; time and experience would perfect the organization. To this end, confidence and good will between the big powers had to be established first of all. Mutual trust is a necessary condition of orderly living. Without it no system, no legal mechanism however ingenious, not even a world state, can be made to work. The first item on the unwritten agenda of the United Nations was to neutralize the corroding acids of suspicion.

While it is still too early to pass final judgment on the United Nations organization, the record of its first year is a grim augury of things to come. Making all due allowance for the enormity of the problems arising in the wake of history's most devastating war, the *J'Accuse* atmosphere of the Security Council and the wrangling Councils of Foreign Ministers have irritated rather than allayed the sources of international friction. It is a question now of avoiding a big power standoff, a state of suspended hostilities.

The root of the difficulty is not this dispute over procedure or that demand for territory; the constitution of new governments; the problem of Germany, China, the Middle East, or whatever special form the collision of Anglo-American and Soviet demands may assume at the moment. Unless the nations can overcome the suspicions which are sabotaging the peace, the most ingenious legal machinery, the most intricate procedures, all the splendid blue-prints for federation will be as useless as a lady's umbrella to a parachutist. Unless psychological disarmament can be effected all around, physical disarmament will be postponed indefinitely.

Does the present foreign policy of the United States, as framed by Secretary Byrnes and his bi-partisan advisors and experts, serve this end? I argue that it does not. The supposition that we can build the peace by intensifying instead of minimizing social and political conflicts finds no support in history or psychology. The policy of "getting tough" is particularly hazardous when applied to the Soviet Union. The situation must be viewed in the light of recent history and the peculiar structure of the Soviet Union.

Russian distrust of the democracies goes back to the end of World War I when the thoroughly frightened Western powers sent military and financial aid to the anti-Bolshevik forces in Russia. This blunder was compounded by a wave of red-baiting; the deportation of all aliens of leftist hues; a campaign of distortion and abuse of the Revolution in the American press; the rejection of Russia's offers of disarmament; United States non-recognition of the

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Soviet government until 1933 and, above all, our apparent approval of Munich. "Capitalist imperialism" stood first on the Communist's list of ogres. The fear that "reactionary capitalism" was out to blast the struggling Revolution became chronic. The behavior of the Western powers during the twenties and thirties did much to confirm this fear. Then, when the speedy industrialization under the Five Year Plan summoned the peoples of Russia to take an extra notch or two in their belts, Stalin lowered the impenetrable curtain of censorship on all sides, lest the contrast between the fleshpots of the West and the rumblings of Russian stomachs lead to insurrection. Together, these and many other events conspired to implant in the Russian mind an obsession with national security and fear of a *cordon sanitaire*.

The war-time coalition with Russia temporarily suppressed but did not exterminate persistent anti-Soviet feeling in the United States. This was evident from our actions in the confusion of war's aftermath. In Greece, the Balkans, Italy, Germany and Asia, the United States and Great Britain were cool to parties of even the non-communist Left, but were not averse to dickering with rightist and reactionary groups lying just short of fascism. This policy fitted too well the Marxist-Soviet stereotype of "reactionary capitalism bent on destroying the power of the people's Revolution."

On the side of the realities of power politics, the contrast was even more damaging. At the end of the war, the United States enjoyed every important advantage, except geographical position, in the struggle to reshape the world. Russian factories were demolished and her manpower seriously depleted. All this happened before her pre-war program of industrialization was completed. We emerged from the war with undamaged factories performing unheard-of feats of production, and with relatively light losses in manpower. We held a net of military air bases over the world, were knee deep in Middle East oil and occupied strategic islands in the Atlantic and the Pacific. Our traditional sway over South and Central American politics remained unimpaired. On top of all this, the atomic bomb was, and still is, our secret. To the Russians, nursing every reassuring half-truth in their self-imposed exile from the world, this adds up to a big imperial power of known unfriendliness to the Soviet Union.

Under these conditions, it was naïve to suppose that a few friendly gestures of appeasement, amidst the grim realities of power politics, would suddenly cause the Soviets to change their stripes. Soviet memories are long and they nurse their grudges. They lack that saving force of self-correction which is the best fruit of liberal institutions. Unfortunate as this is, it is still a fact which must be taken into account.

Taking into account the psychology of the Soviets and the historical events of recent times, the current policy of "taking a firm line with Russia" is extremely hazardous, and

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does not offer any real hope of success. Through unfriendly eyes, it undoubtedly looks like a stop-Russia-at-any-cost policy. Thoughtful apologists say it implements the general principle, agreed upon at Yalta and Potsdam, that the problems of Europe and the Balkans are of mutual concern to Russia, Great Britain and the United States. Hence, "getting tough with Russia" only means making Russia live up to her commitments. At the same time, it neutralizes her tactic of subverting the border states by force or infiltration. But that policy can also be used to cloak the machinations of rival systems of power politics in an area in which the Soviets have the natural and moral advantage. For the Balkans, Eastern Europe and the Middle East define a sphere in which Russia has at least as much at stake as we have in South America, or the British, in Western Europe. The same may be said of Russia's stake in the East.

DOUBLE STANDARD

The tactics of the United States and Great Britain during the past six months have not been so clean-handed as to encourage the belief, on the part of the suspicious Soviets, that these nations can be trusted to seek only a just and scrupuously *international* enforcement of the principles agreed upon at Yalta and Potsdam, in all areas where a collision of interests occurs. The virtual monopoly of Middle East oil, British determination to shape Greek and Arab politics, the presence of United States military air bases within easy bombing distance of concentrations of Russian industry, and, above all, our vacillating policy on Spain, smack of jockeying for advantage right on Russia's back stoop. And, to look for a moment longer at the beam in our eye, United States foreign policy has still not wholly abandoned that double standard of morality by which we demand universalism in the areas of other nation's interest, but reserve the right of unilateral action where our interests are directly at stake. "Our principles," Walter Lippmann remarked, "go higher and higher the farther they are from home."

Many liberals in the United States, suffering from acute disillusionment over the fading prospects of psychological disarmament, support present United States foreign policy, but without enthusiasm. Some of them are saying that the best we can hope for is a century of armistice, during which time the Anglo-Americans and the Soviet Union *might* find a *modus vivendi* for living together in peace on this planet. This is perhaps the best that may be hoped for from our present policy. At its worst, it will generate the materials of which wars are made.

But there is a better hope. The vicious cycle by which mounting distrust spirals into belligerency can be broken by a foreign policy which would seek genuinely international solutions of international problems, whether these problems occur in America's natural sphere of influence or any other nation's. This would entail, first of all, a re-examination of our own demands for national security, and a candid appraisal of regional and unilateral committments, for example, our venture in

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China. It would entail backing the United Nations against *any* nation which sought to undermine the peace by negotiating unilateral arrangements in areas where interests collide. And finally, it would entail standing with Russia, on an issue like the Spanish question, instead of assisting the Soviets to become a permanent minority of one in the councils of the big powers. Such a policy would have to be practiced for years, in word and deed, in order to convince Russia and her satellites of the sincerity and persistence of our intentions.

A necessary corollary of such a policy would be the use of all the bargaining power of the democracies in a persistent effort to raise the iron curtain which shuts the Russian people out of the world. We can demand of Russia a normal commerce in books, magazines, newspapers, films and other agencies of information, as the price for concessions which she asks in boundaries. Instead of a flat denial of her request for a reconstruction loan, we can set, as a condition, the exchange of students, teachers, artists, professional and labor representatives, and the free access of travelers to Soviet lands, with the same rights guaranteed to Soviet citizens traveling abroad. Her demands for concessions in the Dardanelles, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and elsewhere can be countered by a demand for permission to establish foreign press bureaus in her capitals and to accord foreign correspondents the normal privileges exchanged between nations which are not obsessed by fear. Such a two-way flow of information and ideas, even if it began only in a small way, would help dispel that fog of suspicion which now frustrates every United Nations discussion and hangs like a pall over the councils of foreign ministers.

Our present foreign policy is in need of a thorough overhaul. While it is hailed as a bi-partisan policy, it is, in fact, one in which conservatives and reactionaries, in and out of the United States, can find the most satisfaction. In less than a year, we have passed from the extreme of tentative appeasement of Russians fears to the opposite extreme of appeasing the Russophobes all over the world. To be sure, Soviet intransigeance and truculence has made that transition easy. But, if the object of the United Nations organization is the avoidance of another war, and not the choosing of the line-up for the next war, then the obstacles which the Soviets now strew in the path to collective security dare not deflect us from a genuinely international policy, even if that entails a heavy risk. Otherwise, the tragic spiral of mutual fear, which grows by what it feeds on, will end once again in catastrophe.

For this and other projects, the sands of time are running out. The long-range objectives of the peace are a mockery unless, within a matter of months, steps are taken which will insure the development of controls for the peaceful use of atomic energy. "For the life of me," said Anthony Eden before the House of Commons in November, 1945, "I have been unable to see . . . any final solution which will make the world safe for atomic power, save

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that we all abate our present ideas of sovereignty. We have got somehow to take the sting out of nationalism. We cannot hope to do so at once, but we ought to start working for it now, and that, I submit, should be the first duty of the United Nations."

FEDERALISM

The group of noted men who met at Dublin, New Hampshire, in October, 1945, gave voice to many who, impatient with the temporizing of the United Nations organization, advocate calling a world assembly to draw up a constitution for a world state. In a world already beset with anxiety, alarms, and rumors of wars to come, the shock of scrapping the present Charter, and embracing a new and radical constitution would preclude its practical success. Until a measure of mutual confidence has been restored between nations, and until it is clear that the United Nations organization is impotent to effect the transition to a true world government, the movement for federalism stands to gain more through progressive amendment of the present Charter than in beginning all over again *de novo*.

The imperative need for control of atomic energy opens an avenue towards federation. The search for federation need not entail blind fumbling or reckless plunging into untried committments. The United States of America and the Union of Socialist Soviét Republics are instances of federal governments which have maintained law and order over large areas inhabited by millions of men and embracing different races and climates. Though the principle of federalism is simple, it is still not widely understood. The Founding Fathers of the United States faced a dilemma in the problem of enforcing the powers of the national government. If federal laws were enforced on reluctant states by force of arms, a state of civil war would be precipitated. This would defeat the ends of federation. A brilliant expedient was proposed. As Madison wrote to Jefferson: "Hence was embraced the alternative of a government, which instead of operating on the States, should operate without their intervention on the individuals composing them." The formula proved as workable as it is simple. Then as now it was a question of avoiding anarchy in the community of sovereign states. The problem was solved by investing the federal government with limited powers and functions, such as would forestall conflict between states, while the residual powers remained in the states.

The American and Russian proposals, presented last June to the United Nations Commission for the Control of Atomic Energy, differ on the question whether the authority to be established is to operate upon states or upon groups or individuals within states. Inspection and control of any agency or group is stipulated in the American plan, which would carry federal control to the point of keeping tabs on the sources and uses of atomic materials everywhere. The Russian plan, more guarded and more jealous of the prerogatives of national sovereignty, proposes "international agreements forbidding the production and use

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of weapons based upon use of atomic energy." It stipulates that "the high contracting parties [i. e., the sovereign states] shall pass legislation providing severe punishment for the violation of the terms of the agreement;" though the ultimate authority and sanctions are vested in the Security Council, where they are subject to the veto "on substantive questions."

The Atomic Energy Commission, scheduled to report to the Assembly this year, is faced with the task of working out a compromise plan which will stipulate as much direct federal control as is likely of adoption in the bifurcated councils of nations. Such a plan should look ultimately, once mutual suspicions have been allayed, to a Security Council empowered to legislate in the field of atomic energy and to enforce its law anywhere in the world. In view of the tension in our relations with the Soviets, it is unlikely that this step can be taken in one great stride. It will have to be accomplished in stages. But once accomplished, the whole project of building a world state would be lifted out the realm of utopian dreams and endowed with the momentum of a going concern.

In summary: if our experts are to prevent another war, and at the same time amend the United Nations Charter into a true federal constitution, the first thing needful is to establish confidence in the councils of nations. Our present foreign policy is not designed to accomplish this end and is, therefore, in need of revision. The crucial problem of establishing controls over atomic energy requires that the first step towards federalism be taken now, even though, in view of the existing atmosphere of mutual suspicion, it can be no better than a partial step.

• The labor shortage is still with us:

Wanted: painter. Must be sober occasionally. Ad in *Mankato Free Press.*

• Acres of diamonds, frustration department:

A Rhode Island barber is being prosecuted by the United States Post Office for mail defraud. He advertised a hay fever cure for $1. The cure: "When you sneeze, sneeze with your mouth open."

• Love in a Bureaucracy:

Jerry Kluttz tells the story in his column in *The Washington Post* of a government girl who finally decided to marry Jimmy from Illinois because her state, Virginia, had over its quota of federal jobs while Illinois was under its quota. She rejected Bill, another lover, because his home is in an over-quota state, West Virginia.

Kluttz then got a call from a government girl from under-quota California who is married to a man from Washington and so must claim Washington as her legal residence. She admitted that she wasn't getting along with her husband and she wanted to know if she could reclaim California if she were divorced.

Kluttz informed her that if she were granted an absolute divorce, she could reclaim California, but if she were granted only a limited divorce, she would have to keep her Washington residence, which, of course, is over-quota.

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An economic explanation of independence movements

Nationalism in Southeast Asia?

By Bruno Lasker

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RECENT discussions of the rising tide of nationalism in Southeast Asia have failed to draw the obvious parallel with the political effects of the Industrial Revolution in Europe a century and a half ago. People still think of the colonial empires as primarily engaged in agriculture, as suppliers of food and raw materials to the industrial nations of the West. But to an extent hardly realized as yet, the essential elements of industrialism have already found entrance in the dependencies—not through a busy building of factories and foundries, but through the industrialization of agriculture itself. It took the colonial powers a century to convert the self-sufficient economy of these countries into a commercial one. Today the shift is from commercial agriculture to "Factories in the Field." This change has made the population money-conscious and aware of the limitations imposed upon its progress by foreign rule. It has also created the dynamic for all sorts of subservient movements fallaciously lumped together under the term "nationalist."

When large-scale foreign enterprise competes with the simple peasant for land and the favor of government, the first stage of colonial exploitation comes to an end. Trade is no longer interested in the collection of the native produce — the spices, fibers, pearls and precious minerals that first brought the Portuguese and the Dutch, then the French, Spaniards and British to tropical Asia. Where previously sultans and rajahs were bribed to increase the volume of exportable commodities by increasing their exactions upon the hapless subjects, it became necessary to gain labor to work in the plantations, the mines and the forests. Where native labor was insufficient or unresponsive, "Coolie" labor was "imported" from other parts of Asia—often under contracts that bound the workers for a number of years under severe penalties, with no recourse to justice. This was the period of commercial colonial agriculture on a huge scale, when labor itself was one of the principal articles of trade and the laborer's life often worth less than that of a draft animal.

The simple peasants of Malaysia were no match for the cunning of the labor recruiters and foremen. The story of the early sweatshops of European industry was repeated here in all its ferocity and pity. The Malay villager, accustomed to barter and to close cooperation with his neighbors in the rice fields and the fisheries, hardly knew what "wage labor" meant as distinct from friendly service, or "sale" as distinct from

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gift and counter-gift. In his community, a free man considered it below his dignity to work for another unless he be his superior in the hierarchy of family or tribe, or except as a matter of friendly service for which it was customary to receive in return a like service.

Today money values and money traffic have penetrated almost every part of the Netherlands Indies. The census of 1930 lists 30 per thousand of the population of Java and Maruda as natives depending on small trade as means of subsistence. The proportion is probably no smaller in the more densely populated parts of Burma, Siam and Indo-China, except for the far greater participation of Asiatic aliens—Chinese, Indians and Arabs—in the small retail trade. Even so, the pre-commercial attitude toward exchange has not altogether disappeared.

LABOR RELATIONS

In the light of this established habit of give and take, it is easier to understand the labor relations in such a society where one is the master craftsman and the others are his helpers. The journeyman who works in a blacksmith's shop alongside his master is concerned more with his living than with his small money wage, only a fraction of which he can save. So also the agricultural laborer in Europe formerly looked upon his keep as his main recompense. He got his money wage along with gifts in kind at Christmas or at Michaelmas. In the Industrial Revolution of Europe, the factory worker still thought and behaved much as a peasant or village craftsman with not enough land or wealth of his own to be altogether independent.

The transition from self-sufficiency, with merely a marginal reliance on trade, to the commercialism of the "culture era" in the Netherlands Indies and other lands of Southeast Asia, brought immeasurable hardship and suffering to the peasants. The way out was and is a wise use of the state's power to regulate a process that is altogether too unfair to the primary producer whom it burdens with every cost. But regulation obviously is not enough. Even in our most highly developed economies of mixed farming and industry, the farming population tends to be handicapped in every bargain with merchants and bankers, in competition with industry and the influence it can exert on prices. The primary producer everywhere in the modern world has had to be protected and encouraged. His handicap can be corrected to some extent by introducing into agriculture the same considerations of scientific method that have made industrial production so prolific. Even before colonial policy came to be centered on native welfare, such improvement of peasant farming became an object of governmental effort in all the countries of Southeast Asia. But the large estate under scientifically trained management still retained an enormous advantage. It had at its disposal capital resources and access to markets which the small man could not have. Agricultural production in the Asiatic tropics moved on into the fields of large-scale enterprise under Western ownership and Wes-

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tern management. The small native farm became a satellite of the large estate. At this point, agriculture became fully commercialized. The peasant, in so far as he produced for export, had to gear himself for a trade machinery set up primarily to make large undertakings secure and profitable.

In recent times, the mechanization of agriculture and the application of scientific processes have made rapid strides. In Southeast Asia, however, commercial agriculture still relies overwhelmingly on the small producer. Even in the rubber industry of Malaya, 58 per cent of the estates are owned by Asiatics. Of the planted acreage, Asiatics control only 25 per cent.

The advantages of a combination of modern capitalist enterprise with peasant production, when under the supervision of welfare-minded administrations—and its dangers when left to an inevitably unequal bargaining—can be clearly seen. In favorable instances, scientific supervision goes with the introduction of scientific incentives. Outside capital is concentrated on the purchase of materials, storage and marketing, not on the enslavement of the producers by loans they cannot repay. The product is standardized as much as possible, but the worker is permitted freedom enough to retain his individuality. In less favorable instances—and they are probably more numerous—the company manages to grab all profits above mere subsistence earnings from the peasants who, as "independent" producers, share in all the risks. The one-sidedness of this arrangement is somewhat mitigated in those countries where the peasant is protected in the possession of his land. At least the possibility of a return to self-sufficient farming still remains open. Such return does not often take place. The cultivator who grows tobacco, tea or coconuts for a large-scale commercial enterprise has become too dependent on the money income from such work to be satisfied with the simplicities of the traditional country life.

TRANSITION STAGE

Perhaps the combination of estate production with organized and supervised peasant production is only a transition stage. As the use of more mechanical equipment becomes possible, complete industrialization of commercial agriculture is inevitable. Where that has already happened, the once independent peasant has become a sharecropper or a laborer. This has been the experience with village crafts such as embroidery in the Philippines. The home industries tend to become mere branches of the factories on which they depend for orders, materials, tools and credit. Eventually, the advantages of direct supervision and workshop methods outweigh those of decentralization, and the village industry loses out.

From the standpoint of raising money incomes, such substitution of direct employment for peasant production has its advantages. The worst labor conditions throughout the world are to be found where men, women and children eke out a meagre livelihood by placing their "spare time" at the disposal of a manufacturing concern that has no stake in the community. Govern-

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ments find it easier to protect factory workers from exploitation. In theory, a cooperative organization of small producers should be able to stand up against the outside capitalist who tries to best them. Actually such organization in an individualistic farming community is very rare.

Tropical agriculture has already become too highly industrialized, however, to permit a return to production in small units. Proper tools and, above all, scientific knowledge are indispensible for the best results. It looks, however, as though many of the crops which we have traditionally associated with the tropics will henceforth be produced on a large scale in the temperate zone. This has already been the case with sugar and rice. Tomorrow it will happen in the growing of rubber. Competition in Southeast Asia will be impossible in spite of its cheaper labor unless productivity is greatly increased and that is difficult in a tropical climate.

THE FUTURE

What, then, are the prospects for the industrialization of commercial agriculture in Southeast Asia? They are most favorable in British Malaya. Of the three and a quarter million acres under rubber, about three-fourths are controlled by Western capital and the rest mostly by Chinese. The rubber regulation scheme, which was designed to check over-production and stabilize prices, was used entirely in the interest of European and American plantation owners who assigned to themselves the available export quotas and bought up those of the small Asiatic owners.

The oil-palm estates of the Federated Malay States are an example of the alienation of land for a purpose of no interest to the indigenous farmers. Little attempt has been made to popularize this crop among the Malays because it is more profitable to have the nuts grown on fairly large estates where a factory on the spot may extract the oil and process it for shipment abroad.

In Java, industrial agriculture is intensive rather than extensive. Only a twentieth part of the cultivated land is in privately owned estates. Even in Sumatra, where the huge tobacco and rubber estates play so important a rôle, the proportion of the land area which these crops occupy is small. In fact, most of that great island is still under forest. About nine-tenths of the cultivated part of Sumatra is held in large estates! In Borneo, the Celebes and the rest of the "Outer Islands", the proportion is much smaller. The principal export crops produced on these estates are rubber, sugar cane, coffee, tea, palm oil, cinchona (quinine) and tobacco.

How largely export agriculture in the Netherlands Indies has become industrialized is shown by the fact that there are no less than 2,500 factories registered as handling agricultural products, and 1,500 of these are factories in the fields.

The most serious labor disputes in recent times have been on the sugar estates of Java. Sugar is not the offspring of an old native industry on this island but was introduced full-fledged with its mills and scientific methods of cane cultivation to take advantage of cheap labor.

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The crowded population which permitted the payment of starvation wages made it possible for it to compete successfully in the world market. But the sugar-growing section of Java became the hotbed of so-called "nationalist" agitation. Moreover, dependence on this industry with its sharp fluctuations in prices created widespread destitution. Eventually even low wages no longer permitted the mills to produce profitably. Of some two hundred that operated before 1930, only about thirty were kept running in 1935.

In the Philippines, sugar growing during a peak year gave employment to about two million men, women, and children, more than one out of eight in the total population. The mills had some 150,000 persons dependent on them. But about one-half of the estates and of the industry are owned by Filipino families. Here, too, the sugar districts are the focus of social unrest. The movement of protest is one of Filipino workers against Filipino landlords and employers.

Factories in the fields are much fewer in Burma, Siam and Indo-China. These are rice producing countries. The absentee owners could not produce rice cheaper by industrializing the process than by letting the peasants do it in their own traditional way.

In short, the present movements for political emancipation in Southeast Asia are not entirely explainable as a sudden yearning for freedom or the hatred of the iniquities of the colonial system. As a matter of fact, the administration of Malaya and the Netherlands Indies ranks with the most humane and progressive in the world. Indeed, there is no less social unrest in the two self-governing countries of the region, Siam and the Philippines, than there is in the dependencies. To understand what is going on in that part of the world, it is necessary to realize that it has reached that stage of emergence from feudal times which the greater part of Europe experienced earlier. And, just as in Europe, the revolutions of the eighteenth century were followed by a whole series of others in the middle of the nineteenth, so tropical Asia must be expected to go through several phases of economic and political evolution, each liable to be accompanied by a degree of violence.

• Note to our New England forbears:

The International Labor Organization is against: "the substitution of alcohol or other spirituous beverages for all or any part of wages and services performed by the workers . . ."

• A young co-ed learned that she had passed an English course through which she had been staggering all semester. She sought out the professor.

"Oh, professor", she gushed, " I just must thank you for the grade you gave me in your course, and I want to thank you for all the knowledge you taught me, too."

"That's very nice of you", he replied, "but please don't bother to thank me for a trifle like that."

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Criminals are tried without due process

Official Homicide

By Paul W. Tappan

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THERE are numerous criminals at large in our cities, committing depredations against person and property. The problem is serious enough. It is made to appear even more so by the attendant uneasiness today as crime news replaces war headlines in the public press. Popular interest in the administration of justice is quickened. The people clamor for greater efficiency from the enforcing officials. There is pressure to relax the standards which limit effective police operation and to employ more practical rules of conduct. One critic remarked: "The law of arrest by peace officers illustrates the discrepancy between law in books and law in action. * * * A great majority of arrests by police officers are illegal in their inception, continuance, or termination. This illegality is hardly the fault of the police for they cannot fulfill both their duty to obey the law and their duty to protect the community."

In day to day police work, the officer faces problems of enforcement in specific situations. Expedience may dictate conduct in his practical experiences. General and ideal policies of the substantive law appear irrelevant or unrealistic—if, indeed, he knows them at all—to the officer at the scene of the crime. Moreover, the practical techniques which the police are led to employ reflect departmental standards of efficiency and public demand for action rather than abstract principles of criminal justice.

That the law of arrest is in some respects out-of-date there can be no doubt. Derived from a common law that was apt to the requirements of its non-urban setting, strict legal standards for police practice may often mean undetected and unpenalized crime today. Lags in the law do require modification to meet changing social circumstances. Several needed alterations are provided in the Uniform Arrest Act recommended by the American Law Institute.

However, to say that changes are needed in arrest laws to meet twentieth century, urban requirements, to stress the gap between formal rule and law in daily action, is not to sanction indiscriminately police practices fashioned through crass expedience. The gap which divides law in books and law in fact should be closed by enacting a renovated policy in statute. Administrative discretion in the performance of vital police functions may then be directed by sound, uniform norms in official policy. We need a formal restatement of police functions to

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remedy unnecessary abuses in practice. The policeman is confronted with an anomalous contradiction of purpose: he must detect and penalize the criminal to protect the community and, indeed, to keep his job. Yet he must rigorously avoid becoming an agent of oppression in his efforts to apprehend the guilty. The injustice to the innocent which may be entailed by a clamor for "successful" prosecution figures weighs lightly on the conscience of the community, particularly today when anxiety about a crime wave has generated a passionate demand for scapegoats. The Wickersham Report of 1931 on *Lawlessness in Law Enforcement* expressed the view that the lawless ravages of society against the criminal are actually more appalling than the lawlessness of the criminal in his depredations on society. It is an immediate and crucial problem to halt those current practices which not only violate the law but sound social policy as well. When the law, public policy and official practice are incompatible, the agents of justice can too easily protest the lag of the law in justification of their procedures, however inappropriate or unjust they may be. Brutality and even homicide may come to be sanctioned as expedients to meet modern requirements.

The issue, then, is this: what policy shall guide the police in arrest practices? To what measures of force should they resort to effect an arrest or to secure evidence required for conviction? Law is neither precise nor detailed in its provisions. Yet, statute and court decisions have come to outline a framework of policy and method for police work which, for the most part, looks to a maximum of efficiency consistent with such protection of possibly innocent persons and of private and civil rights as our constitutions and legal traditions have attempted to insure. The arrest rights of a police officer (without a warrant) as established in New York, similar to those elsewhere, may be stated as follows: (1) For a felony, when it has actually been committed and when he has reasonable cause to believe that the accused committed it. The officer may use all necessary means to effect arrest, if the accused flees or forcibly resists after notice of the arrest, but he may inflict serious bodily injury or death only when necessary in self defense, to overcome resistance, or to halt a fleeing felon. (2) For a misdemeanor the officer may arrest only when the act was committed in his presence. He may not use such force as to seriously endanger the life of the accused to effect arrest or prevent escape, but he may do so not only in self-defense but also to overcome resistance.

Except for the requirement of the officer's witnessing a misdemeanor in order legally to arrest, these rules permit a more than generous latitude to the police. It is the author's view that the present law goes too far, and practice further still, in permitting the police to kill in attempting to make an arrest. There is little sound reason to permit official homicide save in self-defense where the officer's life is threatened and, perhaps to effect the arrest of one who has committed murder. The fault of the latter rule, like that of

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our arrest statutes, is that it would permit gross administrative discretion to judge and mete out excessive punishment to individuals who may be innocent, or guilty of no serious crime. Consider a defendant accused of attempting to enter a building who, on effort of arrest, resisted and fled. Taken alone those facts lack conclusive weight to prove guilt of either intended or completed crime. Construed most strongly against the prisoner, they could not entail capital punishment. Yet, under similar circumstances, men are often slain with impunity by officers of the law. The victim is alleged to have been engaged in a felony and the homicide necessary to overcome resistance or prevent escape.

Yet, in administrative practice and in court decision, we find the scope of police conduct extended much further. Out of their zeal for "efficiency" emerge a plethora of non-legal practices, some vicious or criminal, others merely dirty or ignoble. In most urban jurisdictions, we find multiform illegal arrests such as those on mere suspicion or in the round-up of ex-convicts, "known criminals" and suspicious characters, unjustified arrests under such broad, vague charges as disorderly conduct, vagrancy, or, indeed, with no charge entered at all. A result of such official conduct is that a very large proportion of arrests are discharged after questioning without being brought before a magistrate. Many more are released at preliminary hearing in the absence of a *prima facie* case. These practices deserve disapprobation the more in that they can be and are pursued frequently and without rebuke.

Worse only in degree but more spectacular and more generally condemned are the still too common practices of forcible extraction, through violence or threats, of confessions and admissions; police framing of evidence—whether by exaggeration, distortion, or falsehood—to make a case; extortion and bribe-taking: all well-documented devices of our minions of justice. In New York, though forced confessions—in the rare case where force can be proven— are excluded, facts which are discovered as the result of an involuntary confession are admissible!

These illegalities are both supplemented and encouraged by the legal sanction bestowed upon various malodorous law enforcement techniques. New York has a particularly atrocious record for its oblivious evasion of basic due process interests in dealing with suspects. To faulty arrest practices and all too frequent violence must be added other common devices which muddy the stream of justice. Characteristic in serious cases is intensive and prolonged questioning before a preliminary hearing in court. A bill to end this practice was termed by former Mayor LaGuardia "a Magna Charta for crooks, gangsters and shyster lawyers." What Mr. Justice Holmes has called the "dirty business of wire-tapping" is a characteristic part of procedure in New York when there are "reasonable grounds to believe that evidence of a crime may be thus obtained." Perhaps it is not surprising that the device appears to have been used largely to ferret information on the favorite scapegoats of the prior city adminis-

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tration: gamblers. Similar in nastiness and in political utility is the police device of entrapment, a favorite in the gambler's squad today as it was in the vice squad of the days before the report of the Seabury Commission. Such practices as these noted are born of the police rationalization that they are necessary as a matter of expedience. They persist through public apathy. Those who suffer from malpractices customarily find no remedy for the abuse. The indigent character, the ex-convict, the "little fellow" are afraid to protest or know a protest would be futile. And why should the safe and solid citizen care?

THE PUBLIC

But indifference is the lesser count in the bill against the public. The community stands indicted today as accessory to official violence and homicide. During a period when many vicious crimes are being committed, if arrests are not prompt, the fury of the public is released. Anxiety, fear and hate are directed against the unknown offenders. These become "rats", as such to be exterminated, if possible. Specific objects are sought on whom to displace our venom. Swift retribution must be had. It is the *lex talionis* of the modern urban jungle. The victim may be a criminal, caught and killed by an officer on the beat. Or he may chance to be an innocent scapegoat, unhappily in the path of the policeman's bullet. In either case, the fuss of arrest and trial is avoided. The result, of course, is not law and order but official violence and homicide. Between criminal and cop it becomes a war to the death. The spirit of law and justice too may perish in the struggle.

Assignments, promotions and citations come to depend on "getting results" and methods are little scrutinized. It is only when the cumulative and far-reaching effects of police oppression, violence, perjury and grossness of error are made clear in a later day of cool reflection, or by the suddenly startling revelations of official investigation that methods are reappraised and an attempt is made to re-establish the rule of law. Thus, in the past, New York attempted to return to a careful and dispassionate legal policy after the infamies revealed by the Lexow investigation in 1894, the Page report of 1910 and the Seabury Commission findings in 1931.

A restoration of order must come again after the excesses of today. In the meantime, the bricks are being laid on which is built a growing tower of disrespect, fear, contempt and suspicion for the police. Official homicide has become a common occurrence. Effective criminal prosecution of the perpetrators is extremely rare, for the securing of testimony to support a charge against a policeman is exceedingly difficult. Often there is no witness to support a complaint other than the victim—if he survived—unless is be a fellow-officer. The latter's testimony under the circumstances would not be of the highest credibility. Consequently, the offending officer will generally suffer no penalty more serious than a rebuke, suspension, demotion, or—in the extreme case—discharge from the department.

Police malpractices of the day are not surprising when the rationaliza-

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tions of the police craft and the apathetic-retributive inclination of the public are sanctioned and inflamed by political authority. What but carelessness, lawlessness, brutality, and homicide could emerge from such counsel as these characteristic utterances reveal.

Former Mayor F. H. LaGuardia to 613 men added to the New York Police Department: "If a crook tries to pull a gun on you, *be fast on the draw and pull the trigger first.* We'll back you up. We've cut down the number of widows of policemen who come down here to get medals. Racketeers, punks and gangsters are not wanted in this administration. *Don't give a crook or a gangster an even break.*"

F. H. LaGuardia to 217 police rookies, 203 of them war veterans: "Any time you walk into a situation in which firearms are being used in the commission of a crime, *be quick on the trigger.* You've got a nightstick. You've got a gun. They're not meant to be ornamental. When you know there's a crime being committed and there's a criminal in the place, go in with your gun in your hand. *Go in shooting.*"

Former Commissioner Valentine, irked at a prisoner in the police lineup, issues an order to the 200 detectives present: "He's the best-dressed man in this room * * * *Don't be afraid to muss 'em up. Blood should be smeared all over that velvet collar.*"

Chief Inspector John J. O'Connell ordered all policemen in a drive against law-breakers, *"to arrest all professional criminals, and all potential criminals found awaiting opportunities to commit crime."*

Such encouragement of illegality confirms the craft inclination to administer justice quickly, easily, effectively with a minimum concern for individual liberty and rights. The result is startlingly similar to terroristic practices in authoritarian police states of the world. The causes, too, are not unlike.

PRESS RECORD

The press puts no great emphasis on police malpractice generally, perhaps because of the need for departmental cooperation in procuring crime news rather than because of the approbation of the journalist. To understand the seriousness of the problem, therefore, we may observe the circumstances and the frequency with which violence is officially employed as revealed in newspaper publicity. A very limited sampling of headlines and excerpts from recent issues of *The New York Times* is presented here to illustrate the acuteness of the problem: *Bronx boy of 12 shot by patrolman as he fled from an apartment house that he was suspected of attempting to enter. Three policemen indicted. Accused of beating burglary suspect in Queens. Hogan to Help Beaten Vet.—will be given a chance to identify a plain-clothes man, who had beaten him in connection with a crime of which he was innocent. Fugitive Caught In Bronx. Picked up for questioning, managed to ride away in car before the police could take him into the station. Two patrolmen fired several shots at the car, one of which hit a woman passenger in a street car and another wounded a man walking in the street. Ex-Navy Seaman* (age 21)

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Fatally Shot As He Flees Police. Was seized with companion while trying doors of filling station.

Perhaps the record speaks for itself. It would seem to require little clarification. Yet the extremes of official conduct are all too often defended today. It appears that the distinct devaluation of human life which has occurred during the war years has diluted our democratic concern to protect from administrative violence even those accused of crime. But if humanitarian considerations fail to stir the public conscience in favor of suspected offenders, more practical arguments may be advanced to convince the tough minded that official violence is bad policy.

Brutality and homicide "in line of duty" discourage the needed growth of careful, scientific skill in detection to get at facts. The quick, easy way of force is less accurate but seductive in its simplicity and easily established in departmental custom. When confession is coerced or the suspect is killed on the spot, official time and trouble are saved at the expense of justice. For the innocent, too, are convicted, and some are slain. The guilty receive swift penalty beyond their desert. Violence is a bastard spawn of incompetence and cruelty. Nurtured on sloth and sadism, it matures to fullness in the "cop" who is above and beyond the law, a self-appointed judge, jury and executioner. A brutalized police must face in time the general disesteem their methods deserve. Law itself, as symbolized by the police, provokes a growing disrespect. Among the law-abiding, it may mean only an unhealthy cynicism, a lack of faith in the law. Among criminals is engendered the determination to fight fire with fire. The level of violence is heightened, its frequency increased. Finally, the judicial process itself becomes complicated and ineffective. Where court effort should be directed wholly to the task of determining the innocence of guilt of alleged offenders, it is confused by the need to determine whether the police were themselves illegal in procedure.

The English system of criminal justice has not found brutality and illegality either necessary or expedient. The result in England is a greater respect for law and its agents, a vastly smaller amount of violent crimes. It is time that our cities in their administration of the law returned to the healthy tradition and practice of due process which has been the pride of the Anglo-American system of law. It does not appear that there will be a spontaneous conversion within our police departments. But a respect for law among our municipal administrators and an informed, alert public opinion may go far to dissuade the agencies of justice from violence and crime.

• The I. C. C. Primer: Grade-crossing accidents: reasonable doubt division:

"When vehicles moving from different directions converge simultaneously upon a point of intersection at the same elevation, there are likely to be conflicts. One or the other must give way, or the result may be collision."

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Education's pioneers blaze new trails

"The Road Not Taken"

By Ed Ritter

Principal of the School for Organic Education

A NOISY station wagon full of laughing youngsters in Pasadena —boys and girls doing the chores on a Cape Cod farm—children gardening near a rural Pennsylvania mansion—a woman and six children in an Alabama cabin. At first look you wouldn't have associated any of it with readin', 'ritin' and 'rithmetic. Here, though, are glimpses of the beginnings from which are developing some of our boldest private school ventures.

Smaller and less wealthy than the famous old Eastern boarding schools, these schools' distinction lies in their experiments. Some of their practices will only elicit a twisted smile from the profession and be forgotten, but some will doubtless be public school routine by 2046.

Perhaps, for example, tomorrow's schools may hold the development of manual skills essential to right mental development. Marks, examinations and promotions may become as antiquated as hickory sticks. Textbooks and daily assignments may follow the stationary desk out of the elementary school. Teachers may stay with their classes through all the grades.

Education's reformers, like all reformers, fall into classes: those who effect change within the established framework of the profession, and those who depart to erect their own temples. Among the latter have always been education's most colorful personalities and adventures.

Wolfgang Ratchius, gray haired methodical German theorist, ended one of the sixteenth century's greatest educational experiments by signing a confession of failure in a damp prison cell. With memory's echo of 500 pupils breaking his schoolhouse windows and drowning his voice with their shouts, poor Ratchius probably signed the confession with few mental reservations. (His enraged financial backer had demanded the confession as the condition for releasing him from prison.)

Ratchius, though, had pioneered child-centered education. He had been the first to elaborate a system relying on the child's inner interests, forbidding corporal punishment and basing all study on the native language.

During the same months when principles of democracy were being made into organic political law in Philadelphia's Convention Hall, a Swiss schoolmaster, Heinrich Pestalozzi, was initiating a new democratic education in a barn-like building in Stanz.

Homely, stammering Pestalozzi —destitute of textbooks, teachers, or custodial help—organized 80 orphan children of all ages into an amazing school whose emphasis on freedom

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and individuality was finally to challenge the old mechanical routines of the Western world's schools.

Few teachers were ever handed a tougher assignment than that for which Pestalozzi volunteered at his Stanz school. The children's parents had been killed by the French invaders. The townsmen, as well as the children, hated him bitterly for his seeming collaboration with the French. But after 18 years of waiting for an opportunity to put his educational theories into practice, Pestalozzi attacked the task with a devotion that made his experiment the most memorable event in the history of education. He proved that teaching was fitting instruction to the child.

Within a few months, his pupils were his stalwart defenders. "Their hands were in mine, my eyes were fixed on theirs," he said. "We wept and smiled together. I was with them in sickness and in health and when they slept. In the bedroom, I prayed with them, and—at their own request—taught them 'til they fell asleep."

Dubbed "the American Pestalozzi", Bronson Alcott founded his remarkable Temple School in Boston on the principle that genius preexists in every well-born child and that it is the teacher's rôle to help bring it to beautiful expression. Socratic questioning was the favorite teaching method. The children kept personal journals. Self-government was developed.

While such talk can be found in the dullest of teachers' journals today, it was a wild note in the ears of most Bostonians in the 1830's. The teachers of the day were often judged by their success in subduing young animal spirits through facile use of the rod. Henry Thoreau had ended his teaching career with a characteristic demonstration. Reprimanded by his school board for never using corporal punishment, he explained to his pupils that his employers had demanded punishments. But, to avoid confusing that obligation with learning, would they please remain after school and come forward in alphabetical order for their spankings.

But there was no rod or ferule in the Temple School. Van Wyck Brooks, in *The Flowering of New England,* gives us this picture of Bronson Alcott and his pupils:

> Rapt attention reigned in the beautiful classroom, as the master sat in his pulpit, his pupils gathered in an arc before him in the soft light that streamed through the Gothic windows . . . The master followed his readings with suitable questions. Language had to be picturesque and lively to clothe these thoughts in words! What was the purpose of going to school? To learn good behavior? What was behavior? What was the purpose of imagination? . . . One had to use one's wits at the Temple School. Boston, hitherto so cold and formal, had begun to receive the gospel of Conversation.

Contemptuous of the mundane interests of his townsmen, Alcott made Temple School an island of culture and graciousness. Beautifully bound books and busts of Plato, Socrates and Milton adorned the sunny classrooms.

But, in Van Wyck Brooks' phrase, Alcott had "called in question the gods of the city, [and] for corrupting the minds of the young

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had had to drink his hemlock." The silver lining was the founding of a London school, "Alcott House", by English admirers of the American Pestalozzi.

But all this occurred before the day of America's fine free public school system with its handsome brick buildings, school psychologists, clinics, swimming pools and free lunches. What educational theories have lured the twentieth century innovators away from all this?

PACIFIC ACKWORTH

Newest of the private school ventures into education's unknown are Pacific Ackworth and Pacific Ackworth Associates in Pasadena. Ackworth is composed of pupils from nursery school through the eighth grade, and Associates is composed of their parents. It is the parents—not the children—who must meet the organization's entrance qualifications.

Required parental qualities are: (1) "a flair for experiment"; (2) a trade, art, or skill, and a willingness to make the special values of this resource available to the children, e. g., one parent's gardening skill is contributed, and another's handcraft enthusiasm is shared; (3) a willingness to share the administrative work of the school. Committees on Maintenance and Supply, Finance, Curriculum and Admission are comprised of parents.

According to Directors Ed Sanders and Ed Morgenroth, Ackworth was founded in the fall of 1942 by parents who felt that "the ideal of the public school is to turn out 'successful individuals' rather than . . . persons who see themselves as parts of the whole of a world society."

From the choice of kindergarten games to the choice of textbooks, field trips and adult recreation, this inter-cultural cooperative emphasis is stressed. School literature exhibits pride in the fact that the nursery school has members of "all Pasadena's minority groups. This applies to staff as well as to parents and children."

There is no competition among pupils. In the fundamental skills, each progresses at his own rate. "Report cards" are evaluations written jointly by pupils and teachers.

Academic work is not permitted to crowd out such practical learning experiences as lunch preparation, food buying, janitorial work, carpentering and mechanical repair work. The children even helped dig the school's cesspool.

From Pasadena's Pacific Ackworth to Cape Cod's Arnold School, it is further geographically than ideologically.

In June, 1932, Mr. N. P. Arnold founded a school on the principle he now summarizes as follows: "Our primitive ape ancestor squinted at his hand—got an idea in the first million years—made a stone hammer and has been at it ever since. Hard work is essentially vital to brain work."

When purchased in 1926, the 14-room Cape Cod Colonial house and the large barn were in bad repair; the fields of the 165-acre farm were run out. By inspiration and hard work, Mr. Arnold has made it a highly reputable elementary and high school with a summer enrollment of over 80 and a teacher-

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counselor staff of 12. The winter enrollment was 65 last term.

While issuing school marks and making promotions in the conventional manner, the Arnold School takes it into active account that there are character traits which cannot be developed in the classroom.

"One can be unprepared in a classroom and make no reflective observation," explains Mr. Arnold in a recent letter, "but one cannot be unprepared when a tree falls on a lumbering operation. He *must* be reflective—or dead; he *must* be alert, awake, knowledgeable."

High school students arise at 6 A.M., have breakfast and do the chores by 8 o'clock. After morning assembly, they have academic class work from 9 A.M. to 1 P.M. After dinner, they study and work on projects. Their evenings are divided between study and free time.

In theories of discipline, the Arnold School doesn't want to be counted among the innovators. Asked how he maintained discipline, Mr. Arnold answered, "Old fashioned spankings if necessary—but discipline at almost any price . . ." More dignified technique is customary, however; e. g., the 16-year-old who ignored his cow barn assignment was obliged to make his way through breakfast, dinner and supper without butter, milk and cream.

A dignified gray stone building just off Park Avenue is the home of New York's Rudolf Steiner School. Established in the fall of 1929 by Artist Irene Brown and a few friends, the school is the American counterpart of Rudolf Steiner's famous Waldorf School at Stuttgart, Germany.

From the moment you enter the school, you are impressed by the colorfulness and liveliness of the environment. Imaginatively illustrated, brightly colored "textbooks" —each reflecting the personality of the pupil who made it—fill bookcases on the main corridor. No ready-made textbooks are used in the school. Pupils' water colors brighten the walls.

Glancing down the schedule of the eight grades on the bulletin board, you see much that is unfamiliar. "Main Lesson" lasts two morning hours without intermission for all grades. It is followed by Eurythmy, foreign languages, singing and flute-playing, gymnastics and handwork.

A passing teacher explains that "Main Lesson" includes the academic subjects. Instead of fretting the daily schedule into periods for English, arithmetic, spelling, writing and geography, the teacher dwells on one subject for several weeks during the entire Main Lesson period and strives for deep interest and concentration. The teacher tries to satisfy children's rhythmic nature by making rhythmic interplay between the tragic and the comic, the active and the quiet.

Pupils are seated according to the four human temperaments. The phlegmatic sit in the front of the room, the melancholic by the windows, the choleric and sanguine in the middle and rear. It is held that the children, seeing their own characteristics mirrored by those around them, tend to develop what they lack.

The teachers here challenge the occupational stereotype in your mind.

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They are lively and enthusiastic. Their almost religious devotion to Steiner educational theories is striking. Where else would teachers be delighted at the additional preparation entailed in being "promoted" to a higher grade every year with their pupils? Steiner School teachers evidence delight at the prospect, explaining that the system deepens their insight into each child's character.

Eurythmy, described in the school bulletin as "the art of movement" is scheduled for every grade. Stepping into a Eurythmy class, the visitor may see a group of seven-year-olds doing what appears to be a circle dance with staffs balanced on their heads. When the pianist plays heavy bass notes, the children stamp their feet; on the light sixteenth notes, they trip lightly. The teacher, a vivacious young woman who was trained in Dornach, Switzerland, varies the activity at just the right tempo to keep her class interested. She follows the active rhythmic exercises with a story to which the children supply appropriate gestures.

Eurythmy for older students involves the practice of gestures that convey the sound and tone content of poetry and music. "This art," the Eurythmy teacher explains, "engages the thinking, feeling and willing powers of the human being and brings them into harmonious activity."

The school's use of flute-playing through all the grades and its teaching of French, German and English in the first grade are other interesting features.

The first principal of the New York Rudolf Steiner School, Mrs. Virginia Birdsall, is now associated with a new Steiner School in a rural mansion near Phoenixville, Pennsylvania. She exhibits her pupils' individual gardens and individual textbooks with the same pride and enthusiasm. "It makes a great difference," she tells her visitors with deep conviction, "when children are taught in this way."

ORGANIC EDUCATION

Marietta Johnson's unique educational venture in Fairhope, Alabama, is now in its fortieth year. Its name tells much of the story. "When Marietta Johnson called her epochal school . . . the School of Organic Education," says Gordon Melvin in *The New Culture,* "it was a bright day for education."

Organic education implies training geared for natural growth. The adjective *organic* is a common one in Organic campus conversations. To students, the content of the word has come to include a blend of self-sufficiency, originality and initiative. "No," a senior tells me, "we're not *required* to make our own class rings, but it'd be a very inorganic thing not to."

Parents who sent their children to Mrs. Johnson's cabin for an education 40 years ago had a hunch that the conventional schools' concentration on academic training didn't minister to the children's total organic growth. They had been persuaded that Mrs. Johnson's system of education would make for a happier, better adjusted childhood and that this experience might be the best preparation for a happier, better adjusted adulthood.

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Today Organic is a shady 13-acre campus with 10 buildings. One hundred and twenty-five children's educations are being staked on Mrs. Johnson's revolutionary theories of pedagogy.

Organic considers many of the characteristics that set it apart from the conventional school to be virtues of omission. "What impressed me most," reported John Dewey after his investigation of the school, "was . . . the absence of . . . the forms of pressure usually brought to bear upon children . . . In my judgment the school has demonstrated that it is possible for children to lead the same natural lives in school that they lead in homes of the right sort outside of school; to progress bodily, mentally and morally in school without factitious pressure, rewards, examinations, grades or promotions.

With academic instruction of children younger than eight or nine, Mrs. Johnson adhered to Rousseau's command: lose time. It has been the experience of the school that reading, figuring and writing are learned most easily and quickly after the child has developed a real inner desire to read, figure and write about things in which he is personally interested. Dealing with figures for the arithmetic teacher's sake, for instance, is slower learning than figuring for self-sufficiency in the craft project.

On through the entire Organic curriculum, rhythm, dancing and singing are emphasized. High school students have taken programs of English folk dances to annual National Folk Dance Festivals for several years.

The folk dance is thought to be particularly suitable in the school because it is an activity that produces reward through group cooperation rather than through individual rivalry. Furthermore, the reward — the thrill of perfect performance—is intrinsic in the activity itself. No extrinsic incentives are used in the school, and students are obliged to look into the actual study at hand for its worth. When a newcomer to the school began to copy another student's algebra solutions without acquiring the know-how, his classmates were baffled and then amused.

Employers and college teachers of Organic graduates have volunteered comments to the effect that the school appears to have instilled a deep-seated initiative and personal integrity.

Beneath these old and new ventures into unusual educational method run several iron veins of principle. The most obvious are:

NEW PRINCIPLES

1. Teacher-imposed discipline must be replaced by the creative self-discipline resulting from interested activity.

The need of ending schoolroom coercion was understood by educators as remote as Plato. ("Bring up your boys in their studies without constraint and in a playful manner.") Ratchius, in the sixteenth century, bravely experimented with the playful manner and later lamented that "Folly lurks indeed within the heart of the child and must be driven out with the rod." Comenius, in his ambitious *Great Didactic Setting Forth the Whole Art of Teaching All Things to All Men* prescribed that "this education

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shall be conducted without blows, rigors or compulsion."

But it was for Madame Marie Montesorri and her American followers to prove the practicality of classroom freedom. Children in the Montesorri school were allowed to move about the room and commune with each other at will. Useful activity was made attractive. When a child responded to his liberty by committing rude acts, he was examined by a physician. When examination revealed no organic difficulty, he was made comfortable in an isolated corner of the room and given private forms of amusement until he was ready to rejoin the group on a socially acceptable basis.

The effort still goes forward in the modern experimental school to redirect constructively the "folly that lurks within the heart of the child."

2. Mechanical routine instruction must give way to individualized instruction.

Here, too, today's innovators are only carrying forward experiments that began centuries ago. In the fifteenth century, Saint-Cyran inaugurated his system of "Little Schools" because he thought the child's thorough personal instruction necessary to his later capacity to resist evil. A "Little School" consisted of a priest, a tutor not older than 25, and "no more boys than the master can have beds for in his room."

In the seventeenth century, Locke advocated small classes as the prerequisite of an education that would produce happy individuals. He was among the first to challenge Aristotle's view that knowledge was for its own sake. "With . . . a hundred scholars under his eye," said Locke, "the master cannot be expected to instruct . . . successfully in anything but books."

Not until Pesalozzi was the necessity of individualized instruction clearly demonstrated. "The teacher usually connects his instruction with what he knows . . .," he told his followers. "You know in the presence of your child nothing else but himself and connect everything with *his* instincts and impulses."

3. In order to minister to the total harmonious growth of the child, the school must adhere closely to Nature's preordained order of development.

Rosseau was the boldest apostle of the principle that education is natural growth. Pestalozzi and Froebel were the first innovators to apply the theory widely. They and their modern successors have opposed the steady pressure of adults to impose their value-judgments on children too soon. They have contended that such forcing endangers the child's integrity and initiative. They have built—and are still building—curricula on the belief that intellectual growth is greatest when physical and emotional development keep in step. They have built schools for organic growth—not for the development of quiz kids.

• "Slow Down—Before You Become a Statistic".
—*Aetna Life Insurance Company*

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FIFTY YEARS of FORUM

1896 ~~~~~ 1946

The elections of November, 1896, like the elections of 1946, caused widespread comment and some misgiving. McKinley won on a platform that upheld the gold standard and, in spite of his oratory on behalf of a 16-1 silver ratio, William Jennings Bryan was defeated, to the evident delight of *Forum* contributor, Andrew White. Describing "Some Practical Lessons of the Recent Campaign", Mr. White points up issues that sound surprisingly like current ones:

> *"Never since the Civil War has there been an Administration or a Congress called to more severe thought and earnest work. The problems are vast and complicated. What is demanded is not declamation but statesmanship—the statesmanship which shall devise measures to remedy real evils, to explode imaginary evils and to restore prosperity. We need a larger number of quiet, strong, thoughtful men to open paths for the energy of our people and a smaller number of declaimers to delight the galleries . . .*

"Much has been said, and justly said, during the recent campaign, to expose the cant that the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer; that poor men's sons are robbed of their chances; that our leading statesmen in Congress have for years past been devoting their main energies to committing a series of monstrous crimes against men of small means; that capitalists are enemies of the human race; and it has been amply demonstrated that the position of the farmer and workingman is better in this than in any other country. But it may be a costly mistake to suppose that this is enough . . . Leaders are needed to introduce more and more justice into legislation to make law more and more the evident incarnation of right, and to teach the people what right and justice are . . .

> *"Every great republic the world has yet seen has failed . . . An unenlightened democracy is a mere mob, even though it be spread over a whole continent . . . The recent campaign . . . teaches most clearly that the enlightenment of the citizens is the most important of public duties and the main condition of continued freedom."*

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Right still makes might

Faith in the Right

By Merlo Pusey

From his column in the Washington Post

Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.

—Abraham Lincoln

IF we listen to some of our excited commentators of the day, we are likely to come out with the conclusion that the earth revolves around the atomic bomb. The splitting of the atom, we are told, has changed the nature of war; it will soon change the nature of industry and revolutionize our economy. It has outmoded most of our political institutions, and even man himself has become obsolete. The conclusion naturally follows that we must bend all our conduct to the demands of the Atomic Age or be wiped from the face of the earth.

The latest turn which this line of reasoning has taken is that the United States must hasten to launch an atomic war of world conquest before other nations develop the bomb and thus attain some ability to resist us. It is said that there is no defense against the bomb. We cannot prevent other countries from discovering and using this weapon. Russia has closed the door of hope for an effective international agreement for the control of this terrifying new power. To delay forcing an atomic agreement upon the world would be to risk a worse atomic war in which civilization would be destroyed.

Here is, undoubtedly, a neat little spiral of logic. It is not easy to reject any one of the steps by which the ultimate conclusion is reached. We must recognize, however, that this reasoning stems from the views recently expressed by Dr. Harold C. Urey, who helped to develop the atomic bomb. In a magazine article, that eminent chemist flatly declared: "Either the United States secures an adequate international control which will prevent all countries of the world from producing atomic weapons, and which may lead on to a complete control of war, or else the United States begins preparations immediately for the third world war, in which atom bombs will be used."

One doesn't need to minimize the horrors and destructiveness of atomic warfare to appreciate the fallacy of this line of thinking. Stated more bluntly, the objective sought by some of Dr. Urey's followers, if not by himself, is that we should strike out boldly and suppress our enemies while we are the most powerful nation in the world in order to save our own necks. I wish someone would explain to me wherein this counsel of desperation differs from that recently put into

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practice with disastrous results, by Adolf Hitler.

Every realist knows, of course, that, if no satisfactory agreement for world control of atomic power can be secured, we shall have to continue manufacturing bombs and perfecting the atom-splitting process for destructive purposes. We must be prepared, as Secretary Patterson said recently, for any contingency. But to arm ourselves with the most deadly weapons for defensive purposes is quite a different matter from using those weapons as a means of forcing other peoples to bow to our will.

The objection is raised against a defensive policy that the nation which strikes the first blow in an atomic war will have a tremendous advantage. In one gigantic raid, our major cities might be destroyed. In order to survive, therefore, it is said we must strike first. But this reasoning suppresses the varied interests of the world to our survival. It cuts loose from all the humanitarian and democratic principles that we have previously fought for and puts in their place the savage law of the jungle—the rule that might makes right.

How can anyone suppose that adherence to such a demoralizing doctrine would not in itself destroy our civilization? Assuming the rôle of world dictators to save our own skins, we should no longer respect ourselves. The good will that we have patiently built up during the recent war and through establishment of the United Nations would necessarily evaporate. Once our purpose of conquering the world to keep control of atomic power in our hands became known, every other self-respecting nation could be expected to join in a coalition against us. In time they would doubtless have atomic bombs and we should be fighting a world-shattering war for the ugly principle of domination instead of the principles of freedom and justice.

The bomb cannot be allowed to corrupt the American people in this fashion. According to all of the standards that we profess to cling to, a nation that would launch an atomic war upon the world to draw all power into its own hands would not be worth saving. In other words, we cannot cravenly debase our principles before a ruthless monster called the atom bomb without destroying the very things which we seek to protect.

Perhaps the thesis of world control of the atom or an atomic war would be tenable if we lived solely in a physical world. But we do not. I venture to think that our moral and political principles which have evolved out of ages of struggle are stronger fibers in our civilization than any invention or machine. These cannot be destroyed by the atom bomb, although we could foolishly forsake them out of fear for our physical safety. The bomb has profoundly altered the nature of war and the relations of one nation to another, but it has not changed, and cannot change, the nature of good and evil. If we should be so naïve as to ignore this fact, the particular route we might choose to the end of civilization would be a matter of little significance.

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Strikes against government interference

Labor Vs. Government

By Murray Everett

From his column in the New Leader

THE most significant fact regarding the recent tight and widespread shutdown of shipping on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts is that the union was not striking against the employers but against the government—against a stupid and clumsy governmental machinery which sought to impose a rigid wage pattern on industry regardless of the particular situations involved. The success of the strike may mean the end, for the moment, of the mechanical government mediation policy which was instituted by the Roosevelt administration during the war. It may also mean the return to free collective bargaining and a blow against increasing direction of labor affairs by governmental agencies.

The shipping strike has to be understood against the pattern of government regulation of trade unions as it has developed in the last five years. It has to be understood as well in its relation to the impending negotiations between John L. Lewis, the government and the coal owners regarding the return of the mines to the operators. The success of Harry Lundeberg's A. F. L. sailors may give John L. Lewis a greater handle in his efforts to write a favorable contract for his miners.

In the case of the shipping strike, the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Seafarers International Union—both A. F. L. affiliates headed by Harry Lundeberg—had successfully negotiated a wage contract with the shipowners which exceeded the gains won several months previously by the C.I.O.'s National Maritime Union. The contract automatically went to the government's Wage Stabilization Board for review. Both union and shipowners jointly petitioned the Board to accept the contract. Yet the W.S.B. rejected the contract as allowing *too great* a wage increase. The government's reasoning was that the wage increases negotiated would have constituted an "inflationary threat" if similar gains were balanced by other unions. The situation was this:

The Wage Stabilization Board would not permit any increases beyond 18½ cents an hour, regardless of ability to pay and of substandard wages that may have prevailed. In theory, the Board may allow greater increases where such substandard conditions prevailed; in practice it hasn't. The result is that the government, continuing the wartime pattern of the Little Steel Formula, imposed a blanket pattern on industry-labor relations and ignored any particular situations that arose. The original notion was to have government fact-finding boards that would

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investigate and report regarding special conditions and even ability to pay. In practice, the bureaucratic pattern has been to lay down a mechanical formula, following the original settlements in auto and steel, and apply it generally. The government has feared that if other unions won subsequent raises that were higher than the first settlements, the unions that had settled at the lower scale would demand new increases. The effect has been to make a mockery, once again, of free collective bargaining and to substitute government edicts and rigidity, dictated by political expediency, for flexible economic adjustment.

The shipping strike is a case in point. Compared to other scales, shipping wages have been quite low, especially following the removal of war-risk bonuses. Profits in shipping have been fabulously high, for the government, in fact, is the lessor of all merchant shipping while the ship owners operate their ships on contracts from the government. Their profits have been guaranteed; when ships have been lost, they have been more than adequately repaid. It is freely predicted in Washington that a comprehensive investigation of shipping would reveal scandalous war profiteering.

In a large number of cases, the gain granted the A. F. L. seamen runs to *three cents an hour above* the wage ceiling laid down by the W. S. B. Actually these wage increases in no way constitute a real "inflationary threat." Inflation has come in the last year and a half by the organized political influence of large industry groups who have pressured their bills through Congress and thus hi-jacked the consumer.

If wage increases were absorbed by industry—and in a majority of cases they could easily be as the O. P. A. profits inquiry has amply shown — then the "inflationary threat" is gone. Actually we face a situation where organized business lobbies have been able to extort higher profits while unions have been hamstrung.

It is quite likely that the shipping strike may lead to a broadside A. F. L. attack against the entire wage policy of the government and topple the W. S. B. as John L. Lewis toppled the National Defense Mediation Board in 1941.

It is significant that John L. Lewis pledged his aid to the Seamen's union. For several months the coal mines have been operated by the government because the mine owners refused to sign the compromise contract negotiated by Interior Secretary Krug. All through this period of government operation, under the direction of Admiral Ben Moreell, the mine operators have been sitting back collecting handsome profits. Now the government wants to turn the mines back to private owners—who do not want them yet. Lewis is preparing some new demands—which he feels that the W. S. B. will reject although the coal mines are in their period of greatest prosperity. Lewis's backing of the seamen is insurance against his own forthcoming headaches.

It is quite probable that if Lundeberg and Lewis succeed in cracking the government wage structure, other unions will make similar de-

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mands and industry will ask for higher profits. Production may lag and a real inflationary spiral may be accelerated. Yet the basic fault lies with the administration's inept policy, a carry-over from the war years. Rather than seeking to adapt its wage policies to differing situations and to grant increases as they are warranted, it has sought the "easier" way out and established bureaucratic patterns of rigidity. Rather than maintaining the vital priority controls on scarce materials, it ended them immediately after V-J Day, allowing speculators and hoarders to build huge inventories and seek, successfully, to crack the price structure. The Administration has surrendered to business pressure.

At the moment there are $18,000,000,000 worth of goods held by business as inventory, according to a department of Commerce report released recently. This indicated gigantic hoarding on the part of business seeking still larger profits. Vast stores of hides, for example, are being held off the market creating a shoe scarcity in order to pressure O. P. A. to grant "price relief."

This new strike "crisis" is a direct result of the administration's failure to take an unambiguous stand in defense of the consumer. If essential priorities had been maintained and if the government had refused industry's demand for higher prices when granting higher wages, we would now be "over the hump" on the production problem.

Evening Will Come

For M. B.

Evening will come . . . but you, you will not come;
Evening will wear the blue, sweet guise of peace,
And the day's strident voices will be dumb;
But the heart's cry for you . . . that will not cease.
The star will hang above the western hill,
In winter clarity, and seeming near,
And still, as my wild thought is never still,
That roves the world . . . that seeks, now there, now here,

And nowhere finds the image of its rest,
And has no rest . . . the image of its love,
And has no love that is not love oppressed,
The inverted hunger it is dying of,
And has no death, save each day's stricken hope,
Laid on the heart's own starless, western slope.

David Morton

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Turning a light on the bogey

To Prevent Communism

By Robert Lasch

From his column in the Chicago Sun

A GREAT deal of the confusion over our policy toward the Soviet Union springs from a confusion of two distinct Russian aims. As a nation, Russia desires to secure her frontiers and become the dominant influence among neighboring nations, in the same way that other great powers have attained the same position. As the chief product and exponent of revolutionary socialism, Russia desires to extend the revolution throughout the world.

There is no use kidding ourselves about this second aim. It is implicit in the whole doctrine of revolutionary socialism. According to socialist doctrine, the revolution will not be complete until it encompasses all peoples everywhere, nor will it be safe in one country until it has triumphed in all. There is no doubt that the Russians would like to see that happen.

This is what scares so many people out of their wits. They envision Soviet armies marching on all the continents, overwhelming one island of freedom after another and finally planting the hammer and sickle on Capitol Hill in Washington.

Neither Soviet history nor Soviet doctrine, however, justifies the conclusion that Russia has chosen aggression and conquest as the means by which the socialist revolution shall be extended. On the contrary, Stalinism bears heavily on the proposition that, while the revolution should go forward everywhere, it cannot triumph anywhere until the people are ready for it.

Even though Communism counts on seizure of power by a disciplined minority, it has never assumed that the seizure could take place until a revolutionary "situation" had been created. And it aims to create the situation by taking advantage of internal dissension, economic injustice and oppression of the working class, rather than by sending in foreign armies to hold the people in subjection.

The defense against internal revolution is the avoidance of an internal revolutionary "situation." In other words, the best answer to Communism, here and everywhere, is a functioning society which provides a high standard of living, steadily expanding economic justice and progressively broader political freedom. This country has done reasonably well along those lines (though not well enough), and it is absurd to think of a communist revolution here unless we plunge into economic chaos and stop or turn back the clock of social progress.

Yet some of us are so frightened by the spectre of Communism that we think the way to stop it is to frustrate Russia's national aspira-

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tions, as distinct from her socialist aspirations. Is it not clear that we could bottle up the Russians completely, as a nation, and still not gain one iota of security against Communism? We shall not avoid internal revolution by keeping the Russians out of the Dardanelles. We shall avoid it only by keeping our own society in good repair.

It does not follow that, in the diplomatic and strategic contest on the national level, we must cave in to every Russian desire. The Soviet Union is not the only power in the world. There are other big powers and many small powers, and the urgent task is to reconcile the interests of all in the common interest of peace. On some diplomatic issues, we are well justified in opposing the Russians. Our purpose, however, must be not to put the Soviet Union at a strategic disadvantage, on the mistaken theory that we can thereby purchase immunity from Communism, but to secure a peaceful accommodation that will recognize all interests—Russia's, our own, and those of the unfortunate people in between.

The recognition of this purpose implies a recognition that change can and must occur in the world, and a belief that it can occur peacefully. There is widespread uneasiness over our current policy toward Russia (the policy which is actually in operation, and not the one Henry Wallace would like to see), precisely because it seems to deny the idea of change, and to be based entirely upon freezing the *status quo*. We ought to know by now that the *status quo* can't be frozen.

We need, first, confidence in our ability to defend ourselves against Communism at home, and second, a willingness and determination to reconcile Russia's national aims with those of other nations on the basis of agreed peaceful change. I doubt if pointing pistols at each other's head is the way to reach agreement.

• We hear that *Superman* is read regularly by Hussein Ala, the Iranian Ambassador in Washington.

• We heard of a school teacher of the o-l-d school who bounced into a grocery store during the butter shortage and asked the clerk:

"Do you have any b-u-t-t-e-r?"

The clerk looked at all the ears cocked in his direction and replied wearily: "After all, Miss Button, you and I aren't the only two around here who can s-p-e-l-l!"

• The judge was a southern gentleman of the old school. He had to try a case in which one of the witnesses was a famous southern actress. Knowing that "What is your age?" was sure to be asked, the judge interrupted the clerk.

"Madam, how old are you?", the judge asked the actress.

"Twenty-six", she lied, looking a good 36.

"Very well", the judge replied politely. "I have asked that question because, if I hadn't, it surely would have been asked in the cross-examination. Now that you have told us your age, do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?"

—*Christian Life and Times*

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Rutgers takes over the businessman's lunch

A Course in the Amenities

By Don Rose

From his column in The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin

SOME educators are never satisfied to leave well enough alone. They find a child messing happily with mud pies and decide he must learn Latin. They see another having a nice time with hop toads and garter snakes and sign him up for a stiff course in trigonometry.

And now the faculty of the Rutgers University School of Business Administration has thought up a new one. There is to be a course in which students will "learn to do business over a luncheon table." The course is defined as a study of the "social amenities, which are so important in business today." It is promised that the students will "see distinguished men in the flesh, hear them talk and meet them."

It isn't mentioned who pays for the lunch. In regular business circles, the distinguished man in the flesh is the one who doesn't pay for the lunch. But it may be that distinguished men will participate only occasionally. In ordinary classes, the students will learn the ways and wiles of business by sharing a couple of hamburgers and milk shakes and paying for their own lunches.

It is assumed that the university will supply tablecloths, possibly of oil-cloth or some easily laundered fabric. The students will be encouraged to make calculations on the tablecloths, to sketch ideas and inventions and to figure brokerage fees and cash discounts. There should also be lessons in charging the cost of the lunches on an expense account, using different menus for various income tax brackets. Advanced students will be shown how a five-dollar meal, plus double indemnity for the waiter, can be consumed at a net cost, less taxes, of 82 cents per person.

But there is a question whether Rutgers is altogether wise in publicity proclaiming this addition to its curriculum. There is suspicion already among the women of America that the so-called "social amenities" take up too much of a business man's day. Many wives fail to appreciate that a two-hour luncheon of lobster or tenderloin steak is not eaten for the satisfaction of vulgar appetite, but is part of the hard day's labors which leave a business man exhausted by dinner time.

Nor do they understand that a big deal cannot be closed simply by setting a price, taking it or leaving it and signing on the dotted line. There are the "social amenities" to be observed, which may include lunch or dinner and 18 holes on the golf course. There must be conversation on many subjects which seem to have nothing to do with the

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case, but which lead the transaction irresistibly to a satisfactory conclusion.

The students at Rutgers will learn these facts partly by watching distinguished men in the flesh eat lunch. Later on, in the postgraduate school of matrimony, they may learn how to persuade their wives that a man consuming a five-course luncheon, with cocktails, is really working his head off.

A lesson for the Soviet

Baker Street Banned!

By Charles Fisher

From his column in The Philadelphia Record

WE did a piece once pointing out that detective stories aren't a success in totalitarian countries. The idea was that they are full of distasteful logic and old-fashioned moralistic ideas about evildoers getting punished after a fair chase and fair trial. In a good detective novel, facts rule.

There appeared in the paper recently an item out of Moscow saying that the newspaper *Vechernaya Moskva* had just denounced the Sherlock Holmes stories. It seems some of them have been printed in Russia, and *Vechernaya* demanded fiercely that the publishers stop. The old Master, it turns out, is dangerous to Soviet morals and ideologies. The tales of his doings poison the minds of Russian readers, diverting their attention from Communist dogma.

Now, as one who has long capered across the moors after Sherlock, who has followed him into many odd and perilous corners of London in search of malefactors, we are disturbed to find people saying such harsh things about him. We always thought he stood second only to Dr. Watson in his respect for pure womanhood, justice, fair play and the majesty of the law.

We can imagine him and his chronicler sitting in the old rooms at 221b Baker Street when word of the complaint reaches them. The chambers are unchanged, of course, despite the bombings. They are preserved forever because they never existed, just as The Master and the Doctor have the immortality of the unreal.

Watson is bumbling about in a rage over the dispatch. Holmes has drawn himself a seidel of cocaine and is looking keenly, yet whimsically at his friend. "I perceive, my dear Watson," he says, "that we have been attacked in the press of our neighbor Russia."

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The Doctor is aghast, for he has not yet shown the clipping to Holmes. "How on earth . . ." he falters, but Holmes holds up one slim, nervous hand and declares, "You forget, Watson, the invaluable science of deduction. You have a habit of chewing on your boot laces whenever you are perturbed. When I detected you in this seemingly harmless act, I knew something intruded on your normal tranquillity. What could it have been?

"Nothing which occurred here, certainly, for you have been in a fog all morning; as a medical man you should be more fully aware of the folly of mixing brandy and gin. Nor could you have been outside the door, for my observation tells me that the process server and your tailor, brandishing his bill, are still seated on the outer step. As for annoying messages from home — well, your wife does not know you are here. She thinks you are investigating the theft of the Crown Jewels with me, when in reality you have been playing Red Dog and getting all gassed up at the club.

"Therefore, the newspaper cutting which you are holding must be the source of your anger. As you read it, I noticed your feet moving involuntarily in the steps of the Russian dance called the gazotsky, whilst your eyes roved in the direction of the vodka bottle over there by the gasogene. The irritation was clearly of Russian origin then. I tested my hypothesis by humming a few bars of the Volga Boatman, whereupon you instinctively clutched your fist, meanwhile wincing as if the old Jezail bullet were paining you. That wound frequently aches in the midst of our most interesting cases, so the annoyance must have been connected with our association. Therefore, the Russian press had been attacking us. I could further bolster my deductions with—"

"Button your lip for a minute," retorts Watson. "If you're such a wise guy, what are you going to do about the charges? Poisoning morals me eye. Gimme the aspirin."

Holmes puts a head on his cocaine mug and smiles.

"Nothing, old fellow," he replies. "You and I are figures out of an old and orderly world. Therein lies— if I may be permitted the word— 'our charm'. We are permitted to exist because there are persons who like to look back on the last era of stability. Our Russian friends have no past of which they care to dream. Nor have we a place in the earnest agitation of their present. They take all things grimly, and we were not meant to be taken grimly, you and I.

"But we will get to Russia yet, my dear Watson. When they have tempered their solemnity. When they understand that life contains a number of things which are not of appalling urgency. When they have developed that best and blessed sense of humor which permits a nation to laugh on occasion at itself. They'll invite us in, as soon as they discover the rest of the world. Let us hasten, lest we be late for the boogie-woogie concert at Albert Hall."

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Last appearance of the defendants

Nuremberg Watch

By Anne O'Hare McCormick

From her column in The New York Times

BY the time the eighteenth man walked out after hearing his sentence, the sliding door in the Nuremberg court room had become as grimly eloquent as the presiding judge. It was a small door in the paneling behind the prisoners' enclosure, empty now after the morning's tense session, when the massive general indictment was narrowed down to individual cases. Every two minutes it opened with a sound like a long sigh, and two spruce, white-helmeted, white-gloved M. P.'s stepped in, followed first by Goering and then, two minutes apart, by each of the other defendants in the trial without a parallel in history.

For the first time in this process, each defendant appeared alone. He stood at the back of the court room, adjusted the earphones, listened to the sentence, pronounced in ringing tones by Lord Justice Lawrence, removed the earphones after a second or two of silence and turned abruptly. The whole thing took about 30 seconds. Then the door slid behind him and we waited two minutes without a whisper or the rustle of a paper, until the door slid back for the next prisoner. The long-short beat of time unbroken by any sound except the sighing door and the sharp crack of the verdict—literally the crack of doom—gave the proceedings a strangely pulse-like rhythm, as if not only a few hundred people waiting there but the world outside were holding its breath between sentences.

These men had had their exits and their entrances. The judgment delivered on September 29 was a 50,000-word review of their part in the story of the war. The indictments fix their personal place in the annals. They can be sure they will be remembered not only by the swath of ruin they cut in the world but because their deeds are written indelibly in the record of this trial. They will be remembered as the first men convicted by an international military tribunal of the crime of war. If at last aggression is recognized and punished as the "supreme international crime," it is because these men plotted war so cynically and waged it so inhumanly that they impelled the world community to create new law—law which makes individuals who presume to act as states responsible in their own persons for the crimes they commit in the name of the state.

It must be said that they took their sentences without flinching. The 12 who were hanged and three condemned to life imprisonment made their last public appearance when the sliding door closed on

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them on October 1. All 21, including the three who were acquitted, are so branded and morally discredited by the judgment passed on them in the name of mankind that they can never cut a figure in any world again.

The nerves of the spectators were tense after the nearly five-hour session, but the prisoners, though some visibly sagged and showed in their clenched hands or tightly folded arms the strain they were under, managed to maintain surface composure. At recess they chatted a little and some even turned to congratulate Schacht, von Papen and Fritzsche on their acquittal. Knowing that the long-drawn-out process of law was undertaken to make a public demonstration of their guilt, no doubt they were long prepared for the worst.

The court's explanation for the freeing of Schacht, von Papen and Fritzsche was that jurisdiction given them by the charter is limited to certain definite crimes—war crimes, crimes against peace, crimes against humanity—and doesn't extend to the kind of offenses attributable to the released defendants. This doesn't imply, however, that these three men aren't liable to prosecution by the military government under the denazification law.

To some observers, it was highly gratifying that the Soviet members of the tribunal, supposedly on last-minute instructions from Moscow, were willing to go farther than the other members in making organizations subject to criminal charges. Professional soldiers are afraid that indicting military high commands establishes a dangerous precedent, but others believe that one of the most hopeful results of this trial is to put powerful governments on record in agreeing that organizations like secret police forces, military associations, parties or even armies can be responsible instruments of oppression or terrorization. It was the Nazi party program which led to the extermination of Jews, concentration camps, slave labor and all the unprecedented crimes which figured so largely in the condemnation of the men sentenced.

At the end, they dropped their bravado and behaved with a certain dignity. Even Hess stood erect to receive his sentence. Goering, thin and wan, but still the dominant figure in the dock, waited smiling and tried to help the M. P.'s straighten the wires for his earphones. Some bowed to the court; all accepted the inevitable with an air of fatalistic calm. The military men, oddly enough, seemed more dazed and upset than the party leaders. The former were professional fighters who became Nazi instruments, but the latter were just reckless and completely cynical gamblers who have lost. If their own lives were all that was lost, it would not matter. Only when the judgment of Nuremberg is embodied into a new charter of international law signed by all nations can it be a deterrent to other gamblers who are ready to destroy everything to inflate their own power.

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Our goal is freedom with abundance

The Hidden Depression

By Walter Reuther

From his column in The Progressive

IN the months just ahead, American labor and the whole American people face one of the most critical periods in the history of our nation—a period that will test our faith in democracy and our capacity to rise to the challenge of the atomic age. Our conduct as a people during this period may well determine the future of democracy in the United States and in the world.

Today the job of rebuilding is being bungled by selfish men in high places who seem not to have learned a single lesson out of the last two world wars and the depression that intervened between them.

On the diplomatic front, the peace-makers chosen by the people are falling out and dividing themselves into blocs and factions that squabble endlessly—giving lip service to world peace and the Four Freedoms while they maneuver to extend their power over colonies and smaller nations.

No major nation has yet fully demobilized its World War II forces, yet there is already apprehensive talk of World War III.

Instead of concentrating on the job of building the economic basis for peace—by eliminating the conditions which cause unemployment and poverty—too many of these diplomats and statesmen are scheming to preserve the worn-out economic methods that brought on both World Wars.

Here at home the people are able every day to view the tragic spectacle of powerful men plotting to return our nation and the world to the old mad scramble for profits and power—the old mad scramble that produces booms which are always followed by crashing busts. The job of reconverting America to a program of full employment and full production has been blocked by actions of a Congress which chooses willfully to ignore the desires of the great majority of the American people—and to listen, instead, to the profiteers and high-pressure groups that represent the special interests of wealth and privilege.

The legislators in that Congress have wrecked a price control program that was only partially effective to begin with, and have thus heaped fuel on the flames of inflation. Moreover, not satisfied with just wrecking price control, they have arranged special legislative procedures to tap the United States Treasury for the further enrichment of the corporations who want uncontrolled prices. They have provided generous tax rebates for manufacturers that make it easy for industrial management to evade its social responsibilities.

While these employers are cash-

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ing in on their tax rebates amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars, their plants are operating only part-time. Short work weeks and short paychecks are the pattern for millions of workers. Scanty wartime savings accumulated by workers are being spent to meet inflationary prices—while the corporations collect their tax rebates and use them to pay dividends to stockholders. General Motors and Chrysler both lost money in actual operations during the first six months of 1946, but their tax adjustments permitted them to make substantial dividend payments.

This is the same old pattern of insecurity that followed World War I and led to the great bust of 1929 which plunged us into the depression that preceded World War II.

Here are the facts on what has happened to our economy in the last 18 months. These statistics are taken from *Business Week,* which is certainly not a pro-labor organ.

Using January, 1945, as the base of 100, this is what happened as of July, 1946:

The overall cost of living rose to 111.

Weekly earnings declined to 92.

Real wages declined to 83.

As of today, real wages are still declining, and the cost of living is still rising, in spite of the fact that most labor organizations were able to win general wage increases last winter.

Quoting *Business Week* again, the average employee in manufacturing industries has seen his weekly pay drop from $47.50 a week to $44 a week.

On top of this, and still using *Business Week's* figures, it must be noted that labor's weekly wage today buys 16.3 per cent less than it did in January, 1945.

As a nation, we are drifting back to the old pattern of insecurity and scarcity. This is how the pattern looks:

The top 10 per cent of the nation's family units hold 60 per cent of the total savings; the bottom 25 per cent of the low income families have no savings at all.

Workers are cashing in their war bonds in order to get by during this secret depression, because they are working short weeks and cannot get by on their pay, which means that they are spending money that would otherwise go to purchase new durable goods. Prices are rising steadily, thus further cutting the buying power of the average consumer's dollar.

HIDDEN INSECURITY

This developing pattern of insecurity and scarcity is a challenge to all of us in this atomic age. For, if we permit America and the world to slide back to the old cycle of boom or bust once more—to drop us into the economic chaos of mass unemployment and depression—we may be sounding the signal for the launching of a global atomic war.

If ever there was a time for the American people to rise to the defense of democracy, that time is now.

It is still not too late in this nation and in the world to design a program of democratic action that will avert insecurity, scarcity, unemployment, depression and war. America can set a pattern of peace

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and plenty for the whole world by mobilizing its people and its material resources behind a modern economic program that will guarantee the enjoyment of both abundance and freedom. That is our task today: to achieve security and abundance without destroying individual liberty.

We have the tools at hand with which to do this job. Our productive capacity was expanded during the war to a degree which makes it possible for us to turn out sufficient goods to give every American a decent standard of living.

WAR EXPANSION

What most people do not realize is that the taxpayers of this country have actually financed the cost of most of this wartime industrial expansion. Fifteen billion dollars of federal funds were spent during the defense period and the war to construct more than 1,500 new plants.

As a result of this program of Federal financing of new plant construction, the Government owned at the end of the war:

50 per cent of machine tool capacity.

70 per cent of aluminum capacity.

90 per cent of synthetic rubber capacity.

90 per cent of aircraft capacity.

90 per cent of shipbuilding capacity.

90 per cent of magnesium capacity.

Most of these tools of plenty are still owned by the people of this country—but many of them are standing idle, because the monopolists who operated them during the war do not want to see them operated in peacetime. They do not want them operated in peacetime because a high volume of output would disturb the scarcity system by which they get steady profits through high prices and low volume production.

HOUSING

The aircraft industry, for example, is an outstanding example of government-financed plant construction for war purposes—which no one in any position of authority seems to want to do anything about in peacetime. All over the nation, in the East, the Mid-West, the Far West, and the Deep South, great sprawling aircraft plants are today standing idle, even though many of them contain tools and facilities that could be used to make commodities badly needed by the consumers of this country.

Shortly before V-J Day, the U.A.W.-C.I.O. proposed that excess aircraft be converted to the production of low-cost pre-fabricated homes for workers. We pointed out that America's greatest postwar need, and its greatest source of postwar employment, is housing—and that a nation which has spent billions to bomb homes must have the courage and imagination to spend billions to build homes.

We proposed that the excess aircraft plants be used to produce Cadillac homes at Ford prices. Our program called for the creation of a Housing Construction Authority, patterned after the T.V.A., to plan, direct, and supervise this conversion and construction job in the interest of the American people.

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Today the aircraft plants are still standing idle—while veterans are tramping the streets of all our major cities searching for a place to sleep. This is but one example of our failure to live up to the slogans for which we said the struggle against fascism was waged. The materials, the plants, the tools, and the manpower are all available to build low-cost homes for veterans and other groups—but there is no national effort to meet this very serious problem.

Many other examples could be cited to show how materials and tools are not being used to meet the postwar needs of the American people. This is the challenge we face and we in the U.A.W.-C.I.O. are mobilizing our people and our communities to meet it.

There is no closely defined blueprint that spells out just how this job of mobilizing America behind a program of freedom and abundance can be done. But certain basic principles are clear.

First, we must try to get all of American labor, and broad sections of the non-labor public, to join with us in the fight to win wage increases without price increases. Our General Motors workers made an important beginning in this task last winter during the G.M. strike. That strike aroused more support than ever was given to any previous strike in American history—and for this reason: because the G.M. workers made it clear that their fight for a wage increase without a price increase was the fight of the whole community for adequate purchasing power. The U.A.W.-C.I.O. is pledged to carry forward an educational program to spread this principle of linking wage demands to prices, and thus tying in collective bargaining with the overall welfare of the nation.

Second, we must employ every possible democratic technique to get community-wide action behind the campaign for full production and full employment. Neither labor nor any other one group in America can perform this task; it is a job that requires the attention of the whole people.

Third, we must win public acceptance of the principle that it is the responsibility of a democratic government to provide useful, creative employment when private ownership fails to offer jobs to all people able and willing to work. This principle involves the need to popularize the idea of the T.V.A. type of public corporation, such as we proposed to handle the production of low-cost prefabricated homes in converted aircraft plants. There are other important areas of industry in which the T.V.A. pattern of operation can and should be made to work—whenever private enterprise fails to utilize the full capacity of productive resources.

Fourth, we must push a broad educational and organizational program to pool the economic power of workers and farmers in powerful cooperative enterprises that will challenge, and compete with, privately owned enterprises.

These are some of the basic principles to guide us in the fight for freedom and abundance.

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OUR

OUR ROSTRUM is your platform. You are invited to submit letters on any of the issues or articles published in FORUM. The best letters will be printed in this column each month. As in the past, the editor must reserve the right to publish letters in part only because of space limitations.

THE BARUCH PLAN

To the Editor:

I read Mr. Williams' side of the argument in regard to the question, "Is The Baruch Plan For Atomic Bomb Control Sound?" in the September *Forum*. Mr. Williams and Mr. Dilke make the same mistake that all writers make who discuss the veto; that of thinking the veto can be considered apart from the majority principle.

The veto cannot be considered apart from the majority principle. The veto was devised as a check on the majority principle. Without a majority to check, the veto has no meaning. Here is what we are up against. If we do away with the veto, we would still have to find a means of checking the power for mischief that resides in the majority principle. (Just why there is less need of a check on a majority in the management of the atomic bomb than in the management of any other part of the U. N. is hard to see.) *If we do away with the majority principle, we would have no need of the veto.* That is a proposition worth considering. What we need to do is to scrap the majority principle, then Russia or any other nation would not have any excuse for wanting the veto.

Scrapping this principle brings up the question of finding something to take its place. I think some application of the compromise principle of voting, a negative form of which is found in the way a court selects the 12 jurymen from the panel of 24, will do the job.

WILLIAM CROCKER.
Prescott, Arizona.

STATE MENTAL HOSPITALS

To the Editor:

I have read with interest an article in your June issue by Mr. Ritter, "A New Deal for the Mentally Ill."

I have lately had an experience in an Ohio State Hospital where they haven't had a new deal. Where patients are still herded together, fed and classified as so many sheep and cattle. Where patients not in fever are

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compelled to get off their beds after three days and, in their depleted and exhausted state, lounge about in the day rooms on few couches, hard benches and on the floors. Where patients are left confined without clinic or consultation from six to 18 months.

After my observation, I can only feel that your Mr. Ritter must have tripped through some dream state hospital like Alice in Wonderland. After my conversations with many attendants and C. O.'s, I didn't think there was in the United States any such state hospital as Mr. Ritter described.

I have some 50 pages of observations. Patients confined in rooms and strapped to cots in their third year. Untimely deaths from criminal negligence of doctors and attendants.

Why not publish the other side of the story on state hospitals?

PERRY C. YOUNT.
Dayton, Ohio.

MR. RITTER REPLIES

To the Editor:

I want to be counted on Mr. Yount's side—on the side of the crusaders for better mental hospital conditions. It was with a sense of irony in reading Mr. Yount's letter that I noticed myself being thrust among the defenders of the *status quo*.

There are two ways of reporting mental hospital conditions: (1) to expose instances of sensational negligence and cruelty in mental institutions and—by keeping mum about the competent, conscientious administrations—to imply that all mental hospitals are deplorable pits; (2) objectively to describe good and bad institutional conditions and to analyze the factors underlying the latter.

The modern mental hospital briefly described in "New Deal for the Mentally Ill?" (June, 1946) to which Mr. Yount makes reference as "some dream State Hospital" is the Rhode Island State Hospital, Howard, R. I.

I hope Mr. Yount will finish the article when time permits. He will discover that he and I share an interest in analyzing the difficulties of the backward institutions and in calling public attention to the gravity of their failure.

ED RITTER.
Principal, School for Organic Education,
Fairhope, Alabama.

(Editor's note: we refer Mr. Yount to "Bedlam's Answer", August FORUM, for "the other side" and a fuller discussion of this very problem.)

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Another feminine frustration

That Hat!

By Merwyn L. Aultman

From his column in the Providence Evening Bulletin

PEOPLE'S heads and what they've had on them have given me a lot of trouble at lectures, dramatic readings, sleight-of-hand performances, baptisms, plays, movies and other gatherings where seeing is a great help to believing.

Most of my troubles have been with ladies' hats, but I have also had trouble with inexcusably long-waisted bodies, odd-shaped heads, huge bows of ribbon, hair, veils, feathers and ears. But hats are the worst. I've sat behind four or five distinct eras of them: bonnets with plumes or wisps of wheat and other flourishing cereals sticking straight up; huge hats tipped up on one side with swirling ostrich feathers; hats built up with birds, fruit and vegetables and held by ferocious pins; little pot hats with filmy veils or great bows tacked on; and the indescribable headgear which women wear today. They've all sat down in front of me. And some of the things I've said (to myself), some of the imaginary conversations I've carried on behind them, would have filled their owners with apprehension.

Years and years ago a friendly person used to appear on the platform and, with the utmost courtesy, request that the ladies remove their hats. This request was followed by a wave of light laughter, a stir of plumage and a feeling of satisfaction among all the gentlemen. In the top gallery of the theater (where I did some very serious sitting) the counterpart of this courteous person was a fellow who rapped three times on the back bench. Anybody, man or woman, who didn't take his hat off immediately had it taken off for him. It was all very sociable.

But when these public benefactors disappeared from the scene, their places were taken by printed notices on the programs and sometimes on the walls asking ladies to please remove their hats. And that's when I began carrying on the spirited conversations with myself which persist to this day.

I begin by wondering if the confounded woman is going to take her hat off, and while waiting for her to do it, I frame a courteous request just in case she doesn't. "I'll give her a little while longer," I think to myself, "and then I'll lean forward and whisper pleasantly, 'Would you be so kind as to take off your hat? We can't see through it, you know'."

Then I get to thinking that maybe the part about not being able to see through it is too sarcastic, so I decide to leave that out. But then in a few minutes I put it back; for it is plain that the woman doesn't mean to take it off at all—plans to sit there the whole evening.

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"Madam." There's something final, peremptory, menacing in the way I think this, "Madam, it is customary for ladies to take their hats off at gatherings like this."

Nothing comes of it, of course. No intention whatever of taking the thing off, though all the other women are holding theirs in their laps. This is outrageous. I decide to catch the usher's eye and point to the hat. If the usher doesn't understand what this indignant pantomime is about, I shall keep my finger leveled at it in deadly earnest and say loudly enough to be heard all round (also with flashing eyes), "This woman's hat!" Everybody will look. Feeling against the woman will run high, thanks to me.

But there she sits. By this time I am frightfully worked up. An unsafe person, really. I see myself lifting the woman's hat off for her —clutching it by the brim with both hands, lifting it up with a lot of hair and then dropping it into her lap. I picture the woman's surprise, her dismay, her husband's wrath. But I'm more than a match for them. Justice and public opinion, which is even better, are on my side. My heart is pounding.

At this critical juncture my wife (who, I must tell you, has come along and has been sitting beside me all the time) asks me some innocent question and I turn on her sharply and ask, "What!" in a tone that startles her. You understand, of course, that this is simply a case of transferred emotion. She put her question at an unfortunate moment and received the full impact of the hat.

The explosion somewhat relieves the situation. I give her my attention and answer the question, perhaps incorrectly. No matter. All the time the hat is smoldering in my thoughts, and as soon as convenient I return to it with increased resentment and the improved eloquence which a moment's respite gives a thought like this. I breathe indignantly through my nostrils. I jerk my program. There is unmistakable evidence of an approaching climax. And then it arrives.

My wife, a forthright person, leans forward and says quietly: "Will you take off your hat, please."

The hat comes off, usually with resentment but sometimes with a smile, and a dangerous situation has been averted—until the next hat.

• Give the American business man a break and he will bring orders out of chaos in any part of the world.

—*Banking*

(Well, that's one thing we can count on!)

• A young pupil was having "comma" trouble and was being called down by his teacher.

"Never mind, sonny", a visiting schoolboard president said consolingly. "It's foolish to bother about commas. They don't amount to much, anyway."

"Elizabeth Ann", the teacher said to a small girl in the class, "please write this sentence on the board: 'The president of the board says the teacher is misinformed.' Now put a comma after 'board' and another after 'teacher'!"

—*Baptist Student*

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FORUM: SHOULD AMERICAN

YES!

Morley G. Dilke

The United States should maintain its military forces in China until there is a Chinese government able to defend itself or until the United Nations is strong enough to guarantee China against aggression. European states have interfered in Chinese affairs since before the American revolution. The United States began its China trade in 1790, before the day of the clipper ships.

HISTORY OF INTERVENTION

The early China merchants, American as well as European, were satisfied to deal with China on Chinese terms. Originally the Chinese government officially regarded all outsiders as barbarians and refused to treat with them on terms of equality. Although the war of 1839 started after the Chinese had seized chests of opium being imported illegally, the foreign traders were also interested in the opening of China to regular diplomatic intercourse with the Western powers on the principle of equality: a fixed tariff instead of bribery as a method for securing the entry of foreign goods into China; the opening of all Chinese ports to trade; and a guarantee that Europeans would be tried under European laws and by courts composed of Europeans.

At the end of the war, in 1842, five treaty ports were opened to foreigners. Caleb Cushing, in 1844, negotiated a treaty for the Americans which first stated the principle of extra-territoriality.

"Subjects of China who may be guilty of any criminal act against citizens of the United States, shall be arrested and punished by the Chinese authorities according to the laws of China; and citizens of the United States, who may commit any crime in China, shall be subject to be tried and punished only by the Consul, or other public functionary of the United States, thereto authorized according to the laws of the United States. And in order to insure the prevention of all controversy and disaffection, justice shall be equitably and impartially administered on both sides."

The Taiping Rebellion led eventually to the Chinese Maritime Customs Inspectorate—a Board of Inspectors consisting of foreigners and operating as a branch of the Chinese government. Mr. Humphrey Marshall, an American Commissioner at the time of the Taiping Rebellion, stated: "The highest interests of the United States are involved in sustaining China—rather than to see China become the theatre of widespread anarchy and ultimately the prey of European ambition."

China was still a sovereign and independent nation. The Sino-Japanese

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TROOPS STAY IN CHINA?

NO!

Joseph C. Williams

That we are maintaining armed forces in China is common knowledge. The Fifth Amphibious, comprising the First and Sixth Marine Divisions, was sent to China to disarm and evacuate the surrendered Japanese Army in China. At this writing, only the depleted First division is left on Chinese soil.

This pitifully small garrison is not looked upon with universal favor. On October 3, 1946, the United States Marine Corps ammunition depot near the port of Tangkei (near Tsientsin) was attacked by a band of 200 "unidentified Chinese." Since the troubled area has long been frequented by troops of the Communist Eighth Route Army, it was presumed that the two-hour battle could be charged to the Communists. Indeed, unofficially, Communist leaders are reported by *The New York Times* to have admitted that an "error" might have been made. They also charge, according to New York Times' reporter Benjamin Welles, that United States forces in China have failed to report to Communist officials the location of United States military installations and dispositions. This is the second "incident" in which American forces have been attacked by Chinese.

Nor is the First Division situated in a favorable position for defense. According to Harold J. Noble, writing in the *Saturday Evening Post,* the division is largely stationed in two "widely separated areas"—Tsientsin and Tsingtao, "separated by sea by an overnight's run by ship."

"There is no land communication excepting by air, since the Communists hold the territory in between. A detachment of marines is in Peiping, three hours by rail to the west of Tsientsin, while other detachments are spread north of Tsientsin along the railway line to Chinwangtao, China's greatest coal port. In every area that they occupy, the marines are dispersed in outposts and on convoy duty, so that nowhere do they have any large forces gathered together for large scale tactical operations," Mr. Noble points out.

Let us accept the above statements as facts. Let us further admit, with Mr. Noble, that the forces we are at present maintaining in China are unnecessary to their original accomplished purpose and inadequate to play a strong rôle in China. Let us admit, also, that China is engaged in civil war and that China's civil war has been going on intermittently at least since 1920.

It then becomes obvious that American forces in China are there to play a part in China's civil war. The question immediately arises: why? There can be little doubt that the United States is not primarily concerned

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War ending in 1894 almost led to the break-up of China. Around 1900, Lord Charles Beresford, a British Admiral, and E. H. Conger, the American minister to Peking, were among the men who saw the system of "free enterprise" vanishing. They feared the country would be partitioned into spheres of influence—virtual monopolies for the benefit of specific Western powers. The problem, as they saw it, was to keep China independent and whole and to prevent the evils of partition and monopoly.

On September 16, 1899, John Hay, then Secretary of State, sent notes to China, Russia and Great Britain in which he mentioned the need for maintaining the integrity of China and asked all these powers to give foreigners the same consideration in their respective spheres of influence as themselves.

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE

The treaty system was breaking down before the spheres of influence of the encroaching powers; Hay's notes at least pointed out the desirability of maintaining Chinese trade with all Western nations on an equal basis. The United States had neither a leased port nor a sphere of influence and it naturally favored the competitive system for this reason. In addition, the competitive system seemed to be most favorable to the eventual complete independence of China.

It is true that the Chinese were still isolationists under the treaty system. They admitted foreigners because they could not help themselves. The Boxer Rebellion was the outgrowth of this general dislike for foreign domination. It was put down by troops of the European powers, Japan and the United States. From 1900 until immediately before the outbreak of war with Japan in 1941, we maintained troops in China.

The war in 1914 immensely strengthened the position of Japan in China. China was still in form an independent political entity. The United States had recognized the Republic of Sun Yat Sen in 1913. There was an uneasy balance of power resting on the consent of China to the spheres of influence of France, Germany and Britain. Japan in the Russo-Japanese war had temporarily checked the growth of Russian influence in China. The United States, intent on maintaining whatever doors to China trade were open, realized that this was possible only so long as a Chinese state existed and so hoped to see that state grow in power. This was both because the growth of China would open up American trade and because we traditionally favored the growth of republics anywhere in the world.

Japan came out of World War I with the German islands and Shantung. It had been to the interest of both China and the United States to have Shantung ceded to China. Both President Wilson and Secretary Lansing saw this clearly. Japan, however, was strong enough at the Paris Peace Conference to force a compromise that was heavily loaded in her favor.

Our problems were complicated by Japanese resentment of American immigration policies. At one time a powerful faction in the State Depart-

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ment would have been willing to cede Manchuria to Japan if Japan would cease her complaints about our land and immigration restrictions. Mr. Bryan is reported to have remarked privately: "I am not sure but that it would be worthwhile for China to agree to the cession of Manchuria to Japan if, by doing so, she could secure freedom as to the rest of the country.

Since Russia instead of Japan is now actually in control of Manchuria, the question is still an intriguing one. As I said in the beginning, I do not approve of all the moves we have made in China, and I recognize that we have been pulled by our restrictive immigration policies in one direction—by our desire to trade with China in another. We have been influenced by our fear that a predatory power would gain control of China, its vast resources and its vast manpower more than we have been influenced by our belief that China should be a free and independent state.

Nevertheless our policy has been that China should be both free and independent. At any rate we did not succeed, after World War I, in returning the German concessions to China. They went to Japan.

NINE POWER TREATY

By the time of the Washington Conference in 1921, it was apparent to Secretary of State Hughes that the United States either must join the system based on the Anglo-Japanese alliance, which meant that Japan would be given a free hand in Manchuria, or develop a system more nearly based on Chinese independence and territorial integrity. Out of the Washington Conference came the Nine Power Treaty. By it, China and the other eight powers (not including Russia) involved in China agreed:

1. To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China;
2. To provide the fullest opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government;
3. To use their influence for the purpose of effectually maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China:
4. To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly states from countenancing action inimical to the security of such states.

The Chinese at Washington, as at Paris, asked for the abolition of unequal treaties but without success.

At that time the United States did not want to see Russian Communism spread and was prepared to get the Japanese out of Siberia and to build them up as antagonists to Russia. Basically, America hoped for a strong independent China, a defense against either Russia or Japan.

Russian influence in the Kuomintang was strong, and the Kuomintang looked as though it might become Communist. In 1927, Chiang Kai-shek, Generalissimo and leader of the Nationalists, expelled the Communists and shaped his policies in line with those of the Western Powers. His government was actually building a strong China when Japan used the "Mukden

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Incident" as the basis for war with China. This war in which the Nationalists were supported by Washington was actually merged with World War II when Japan attacked the United States at Pearl Harbor.

In a power politics world, the United States is interested in maintaining a free and independent China. Geography alone would incline a free and independent China to look to Washington for aid against Russia or Japan, or any other power seeking to control China. So long as the veto continues to reside in the five great powers, the United Nations, whether it is the hopeful nucleus of a world state or a thin disguise for the balance of power, cannot protect China from the Chinese Communists backed by Russia, or from Russia or any other great power, the United States included. China is not industrially strong enough to resist a strong military power unaided. The whole history of China from the beginning of the nineteenth century until today shows that no power should, from a Chinese standpoint, be allowed to control China.

This was true of Britain and Germany and it is true of the United States and Russia. The United States does not want to absorb China. But it does not want anyone else to absorb China either. The United States would like to see a strong China able to defend itself. But it does not want that strong government to be imposed on China either by the Chinese Communists or by Russia directly.

DRAWBACK TO DEMOCRACY

Unaided by the United States, Chungking could probably defeat the Chinese Communists, unaided by Russia. The Kuomintang may include a group of native exploiters of China who are willing to say they believe in democracy as the basis for obtaining United States aid to further their own bids for power. As far as that is concerned, one of the great disadvantages of democracy is the fact that a man saying he believes in democracy is no assurance that he does.

Our own experience shows that we once resorted to a Civil War to enforce the opinion of the majority upon the minority. Russia too has had a Civil War to force, in our terms, the opinion of the minority upon the country. In Russian terms the Revolution and the Civil War that followed it assured the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

There is nothing in Russian political beliefs that would not approve of a *coup d'état* in China which would give control to the Chinese Communists, who in turn would be under the control of Russia, as for instance, in our terms, the current governments in Russian Germany, Poland, Finland, Hungary and Austria are to varying degrees.

Perhaps so far as the individual Chinese peasant is concerned, he will be exploited for some time to come, in any event. But we believe that in a multi-party state his chances for eventual emancipation are better than his chances would be in a one party state.

That is why we still have a multi-party state in America. We believe

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that a multi-party state is less dangerous to its neighbors than a one party state. This is partly because it is difficult to make a democracy willingly sacrifice, as both Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia have sacrificed, bread for guns. It is also because, as the intercourse which Europe has had with China shows, a number of states are less dangerous to a weak state than one strong neighbor. It is also because the one-party states are devoted to autarchy which in itself strengthens their ability to make war at the expense of their people and the people of the neighboring states. In Winston Churchill's words, a one-party state does shut itself behind an "iron curtain" economically as well as politically.

Recently Mr. Byrnes has said that we want peace, not war. Stalin has said that Russia wants peace, not war. As long as we both want peace, and we want a democratic, independent China, we had better keep troops in China to assure the Nationalist government against a *coup d'état*. Neither Russia nor the United States will start a war over American troops in China now. The impasse between Russia and the West will be solved some way eventually.

Probably the solution would be a Federalist World State, including Russia, with a Bill of Rights such as our Constitution contains. For such a world organization, we would get out of China. The most likely solution is a frank acknowledgment of the fact that the Russian and American systems cannot merge now. If this comes about, we obviously should make every effort to maintain China as an independent state. This should include all efforts to strengthen her economically and militarily on the assumption that, in a balance of world power, her interests and ours are the same.

We want an independent China for military reasons and for trade reasons. China, of course, like Poland, wants to remain a nation and our interests and hers coincide now, as they have for about 150 years.

(Continued from page 433)

with the welfare of the Chinese people. Until the attack on Pearl Harbor, this country stood by while Japanese troops ravaged China, stood by, and actually traded goods with Japan that greatly strengthened her military position in China. In spite of American sympathy for the Chinese people, then and now, the government of the United States did not jeopardize American interests by intervention in Chinese affairs.

Nor can it be imagined that the Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek is a democracy and therefore merits American support, merely because it is opposed by a Communist group. The one-party rule of the Kuomintang is dictatorship, just as is the rule of Franco's Falange in Spain; in neither case does Communist opposition, whether or not it is backed by Russian support, make the rival government democratic.

The Civil War in China, then, is of immediate pressing interest to the United States, not because of the welfare of the Chinese people, nor because the people of the United States favor democracy but because of American

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fears of Russia or a Russian-dominated China. The United States gives aid and military protection (however inadequate) to the Nationalist Government of China because it fears a Russian-dominated Communist China. Thus to take the position that we should withdraw from China is to lay oneself open to charges of "Communist" and "Russophile." As my opponent maintains, in a power politics world, Americans must be on the American side.

Agreed. But, in my opinion, American interests demand that we withdraw our pitifully inadequate Marine division at once, lest we become further enmeshed in China's civil strife. A brief glance at modern Chinese history serves to show that foreign interests have clashed in China for many years, that foreign intervention has never helped the Chinese people nor brought about that strong China which alone can futher legitimate American interests in China.

From the Civil War until the close of the nineteenth century, the United States was little interested in the Far East. Its earlier and more active rôle was abandoned during the Civil War and the Reconstruction period and was not revived until the virtual disappearance of the American "frontier" toward the end of the nineteenth century. So indifferent were we toward the Pacific area that the "Republic" of Hawaii established by American commercial interests in January, 1893, was not recognized by the United States, although the "revolution" indicated renewed American interest in the Orient. The close of the Sino-Japanese war in 1894 occasioned a revival of American business activity in China and, in 1898, the spread of the Spanish-American war to the Pacific gave American troops the opportunity to conquer the Philippines. Although many American groups opposed annexation, the treaty of peace with Spain (1898) ceded Spanish possessions in the Far East to the United States. By 1902, after bitter, intermittent fighting with Philippine natives, American control of the Philippines was firmly established.

In the eyes of American commercial interests, however, the acquisition of the Philippines was only a stepping stone to trade with China. While the United States had busied itself with domestic problems, the European Powers had been carving out spheres of influence and territorial concessions in China. Within six months of the end of the Spanish-American war, the United States initiated the "open door" correspondence, indicating at long last American interest in China, in the light of her recent acquisition of Far Eastern territory.

The words of Senator Beveridge in January, 1900, may be cited as a statement of American policy:

"China is our natural customer. She is nearer to us than to England, Germany and Russia, the commercial powers of the present and the future. They have moved nearer China by securing permanent bases on her borders; the Philippines give us a base at the door of all the East . . . Two years ago, there was no land in all the world which we could occupy for any port . . . Today we have one of the great ocean possessions of the globe, located at the most convenient commercial, naval and military point of the eastern seas, within hail of India, shoulder to shoulder with China."

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Senator Lodge, two months later, voiced the fear that Russia would close in on Chinese markets unless the United States protected its own interests. Shades of 1946!

In the last ten years of the nineteenth century, European dominance in China had been growing by leaps and bounds. Russia, by secret agreement in 1896, had secured permission to build the Chinese Eastern railway, gaining a Russian zone across northern Manchuria with "the absolute and exclusive right of administration" of this territory. In 1898, the Chinese government was forced to lease to Germany for 99 years the port of Tsingtao, 200 square miles of territory on Kiaochow Bay and priority in mining and railway developments in the province of Shantung. In the same year, Russia was granted a 25-year lease on Port Arthur, 1300 miles of Liaotung territory and the privilege of building a railroad from Port Arthur to the Trans-Siberian Railroad. In compensation, the British demanded and received a similar lease on Weihaiwei and, later, 375 square miles for 99 years on Kowloon opposite Hongkong. The French checked in with a 99-year lease on 200 square miles at Kwangchowwan.

FOREIGN ENCROACHMENT

"Spheres of influence" were soon recognized by the several European powers in conjunction with the weakening Chinese government.

Great Britain took the Yangtse valley; Germany, Shantung province and land extending westward along the Yellow River; France, the southern provinces bordering on Indo-China; Japan, Johnny-come-lately, the province of Fukien; and Russia, Manchuria and Mongolia. The Boxer Rebellion of 1900 gave Russia the chance to take complete military control of Manchuria and, in spite of the protests of other powers, Russia maintained a strong grip on the occupied zones.

The Great Powers favored the overthrow of the weak Manchu dynasty and the establishment of a "strong-man" government in China. Yet in spite of their support of the dictatorship of Yüan Shih-k'ai, foreign pressure constantly forced greater concessions from Yüan. In 1913, the British insisted on recognition of British interest in Tibet. In the same year, the Russians finally persuaded the Chinese to recognize the autonomy of Outer Mongolia under China, China recognizing the Russian right to maintain consulates there. The Republican government of China seemed no nearer independence than the Imperial government.

WORLD WAR I

On the eve of the First World War, Japan, to secure her own rights in China (primarily Korea), forced Russia in the Treaty of Portsmouth to recognize her "paramount political, military and economic interests" in Korea, to transfer to her the leased territory in Liaotung (and the railroad link between Changchu and Port Arthur), to pay $20,000,000, to give Japan fishing rights in Siberian coastal waters, to cede Sakhalin south of the fiftieth parallel. A powerful Japan was substituted for a powerful Russia.

China's belated participation in the First World War did her little good. The "Principal Allied and Associated Powers" granted Japan permanent

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mandate for former German islands in the Pacific Ocean north of the equator, and all former German privileges in Shantung. China, on the other hand, received only minor concessions.

Meanwhile, Russian interest in the Far East did not disappear after the Russian Revolution. According to G. Nye Steiger, one of the factors contributing to international tension in the Orient was "the fear of Communism, the possibility that the doctrines of Bolshevist Russia would spread and take root among the discontented peoples of Eastern Asia." It was to the interest of the other powers, therefore, to alleviate to some extent the discontent in China. The Washington Conference of 1921 produced several significant agreements. The naval agreement allayed at least in part suspicion between the Big Five Naval powers and for the moment the 5:3 ratio in capital ships between the United States and Japan and between Great Britain and Japan guaranteed Japanese safety. The Four Power Treaty recognized the *status quo* in Pacific fortifications and ended the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Japan publicly stated that she had no interest in permanent acquisitions in Siberia. A Customs treaty promised eventual tariff autonomy to China.

Most important for China was the Nine Power Treaty Relating to Principles and Policies Concerning China, guaranteeing China's sovereignty and independence. In 1922, Japan and China came to an uneasy agreement on the Shantung controversy. A strong Chinese government might have pushed these concessions.

The end of World War I, however, marked the beginning of what Professor Steiger describes as "anarchy punctuated by civil war"—a civil war not yet over in 1946. Strife-torn Republican China has been a temptation ever since for land-hungry European and Asiatic powers. Only recently have the European powers consented to abandon extra-territorial rights in China. Only very recently has Manchuria been normally returned to Chinese (Communist) hands. To the civil war caused by a clash between the dictatorial Kuomintang and the equally dogmatic Communists has been added the economic collapse caused by more than 10 years of Japanese occupation and the political tension of American-Russian rivalry in China.

As this too-brief resumé has shown, the United States has never advanced territorial claims in China. In an often ineffectual manner, the American government has tried to maintain an "open door" for commercial interests in China and to prevent an overturn of the precarious balance of power in the Far East.

To advance these purposes, it is obvious that the United States stands to gain from the establishment of a strong and independent Chinese government, however formed. It is equally obvious to informed observers that Russo-American rivalry prevents any sort of permanent agreement between the Kuomintang and the Communist factions in China. As Mr. No-Yong Park pointed out (in an article in the September issue of *Current History*):

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"Had both the United States and the Soviet Union remained strictly neutral in word and in action, China might have been united one way or the other. But neither has stayed away from that country, lest the other step in. So the mutual fear and suspicion between two great powers have kept the pot of China boiling, to the sorrow of millions."

A STRONG CHINA

The only strong argument for leaving American forces in China is that we are preventing the establishment of a Russian-dominated Chinese state. It must be remembered first of all that the Russians recognize the government of Chiang Kai-shek, not the Communist government. It may well be true that the Russians continue to aid the Communists only because American troops remain in China. Their presence is a thorn in Russia's side without a doubt: witness Stalin's emphatic affirmative to the question: "Do you believe that the withdrawal of all American forces in China is vitally necessary for the future of peace?"

Powerful Chinese forces also demand the withdrawal of American troops which, they claim, aid a small reactionary Kuomintang clique. There is no reason to believe that American intervention in China will prove any more popular with the Chinese than British intervention would have been in the American civil war. There is no reason to believe that a detachment of American marines can force the successful conclusion of a civil war now in its sixteenth year in China. And in spite of my opponent's defense of multi-party governments, American armed forces seem no more competent to force multi-party government on Chiang Kai-shek than British troops have been in Greece or Russian soldiers in Poland.

On the contrary, there seems to be every reason to believe that no kind of foreign intervention has ever helped China become a strong unified state. There seems to be every reason to believe that both Russia and the United States will benefit if China can solve her difficulties without foreign interference.

The United States is perhaps the strongest nation in the world today. It seems to me practicable for the strongest nation in the world to withdraw its inadequate and over-extended troops and come to an agreement with the Soviet Union. Mr. Park quotes John Leighton Stuart as commenting that "if the United States and Russia can work together, the Chinese Nationalists and the Communists will get along with each other." An American-Russian agreement should establish the principle that neither nation would henceforth interfere in China, that American troops would be withdrawn and that any foreign interference in Chinese affairs would immediately be brought before the Security Council.

For the United States to police the world alone is impractical and unpopular; it also overlooks the world organization established by the United Nations. This organization, however defective, must be used lest it wither like the League. If international organization breaks down, the United States can, if necessary, re-enter China.

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The alternative is, not one American Marine Division but, eventually, an American army in China and, inevitably, a Third World War.

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933, of FORUM, published monthly at Philadelphia, Pa., October 1, 1946.:

State of Pennsylvania, County of Philadelphia, ss. Before me, a Notary Public of Pennsylvania, and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared D. G. Redmond, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of Forum and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit: 1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher, Events Publishing Co., Inc., 2030 Upland Way, Philadelphia, Pa.; Editor, D. G. Redmond, 2030 Upland Way, Philadelphia, Pa.; Managing Editor, None; Business Manager, None. 2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock.) Events Publishing Co., Inc., 2030 Upland Way, Philadelphia, Pa.; Shelby Cullom Davis, Scarborough-on-Hudson, N. Y.; Sidney B. Fay, 194 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass.; Delia Kuhn, 202 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md.; Frederic A. Ogg, 1715 Kendall Ave., Madison, Wis.; D. G. Redmond, 2030 Upland Way, Philadelphia, Pa. 3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None. 4. That the two paragraphs, next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company as trustee in any other fiduciary relations, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation, has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

(SEAL) D. G. REDMOND, Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 9th day of October, 1946.

PAUL BLOCK, Notary Public

(My commission expires Feb. 7, 1947.)

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Wars should be won

Lesson from Nuremberg

By Howard Vincent O'Brien

From his column in the Chicago Daily News

IT seems to me that a neater package of justice might have been wrapped up in Nuremberg. Punishment much more severe than mere hanging might have been meted out.

For instance, the leading rascals might have been condemned to live out the rest of their lives without ration cards; and, though free to move at will, be forbidden to appear in public wearing more than shorts and socks — with garters. Even Goering would find it hard to be impressive in such a costume. Debagging would be crueler treatment than a firing squad.

There seems to be some surprise at the acquittal of Messrs. Schacht, Von Papen and Fritsche. This was to be expected. These were the least expendable of the culprits. Soldiers, politicians and gangsters are a *pfennig* a gross in our delicately adjusted society; but we have a real need for bankers, promoters and public relations men.

Dr. Schacht, for example, performed such miracles with German finance—extracting moonbeams from cucumbers—that we may want him to come over and straighten out our twisted system.

It wouldn't surprise me to have Dr. Schacht remember the advice of the man he was named after—Horace Greeley — and turn his steps westward.

In a year or two, he and Von Papen (as tricky a negotiator as ever turned a deal) and Fritsche—adept in service to the great god, publicity—will probably open an office on Wall Street.

One of the principles of international law laid down by the Nuremberg tribunal is a little hard for me to understand.

The learned judges declared it a crime to make aggressive war. But in every war, somebody has to be the aggressor. You can't have *two* defenders.

Therefore, as the law now stands, one party to a war must be considered a felon. If the aggressor loses, its leaders will be hanged. If the aggressor wins . . .

It's quite complicated. The Thirteen Colonies were certainly the aggressors in their revolution against Great Britain, as Simon Bolivar was the aggressor in freeing the South American republics from the rule of Spain.

The Americans won. Therefore their leaders were great patriots, achieving secure places in the history books. But had the Americans lost, then George Washington would have ended his days swinging from the gallows.

What the court's decision seems to boil down to is: win your wars, lads—or swing for them.

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EDITOR

A United States of Europe

Is Churchill's proposal practicable?

CHURCHILL—PRACTICAL IDEALIST

Winston Churchill, wartime Prime Minister of Great Britain, is probably the best-informed observer of world affairs alive today. He combines a shrewd knowledge of conditions with an uncanny ability to foresee the future.

Thus, when Winston Churchill publicly advocates the formation of a United States of Europe, we know he is not merely adopting the program of any group of idealistic dreamers. We know he must see in that program the only practical way to restore to war-ravaged Europe her former place as the continental focus of civilization.

Winston Churchill asks that France, reassuming the moral leadership of Europe, forget her ancient hatred of Germany and join with that defeated nation in forming the nucleus for a United States of Europe. Germany, he points out, is properly being deprived of the power to rearm for aggressive warfare and the Germans guilty of precipitating World War II are in process of trial and punishment.

When these necessities are done, however, he pleads for an end to retribution between nations of Europe and suggests France take the first step in reconciliation by uniting with Germany in this move toward a greater Europe, combined under one government, a United States of Europe.

We can but applaud the Churchill idealism in advocacy of such a program.

At the same time, however, we recognize the shrewdness of his plan. For, sheltered behind an all-powerful, united Europe, with that power taking rank with the United States of America on the one side and the union of the Soviet Republics on the other, Churchill undoubtedly sees a new and greater security for Britain as well as enlarged opportunity for Britain to regain her dominant place in world commerce and world control.

—*The Atlanta Constitution*

MR. CHURCHILL AT ZURICH

Winston Churchill's speech at Zurich is a hard-boiled bid for

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the establishment of a European bloc of nations under the ægis of Britain.

Mr. Churchill called it "the United States of Europe" in the hope of catching the eye—and heart—of the United States of America. There is no doubt that a United States of Europe would be a wonderful thing, provided the European nations wanted it and provided it had the economic base to be successful.

A British-European bloc, however, would increase the tension with Russia and the governments of the many European states she has brought into her orbit. It could not be anything like a United States of Europe either in extent or in function, for its primary purpose would be to oppose one part of Europe to another part.

It would be based, says Churchill, on a Franco-German rapport, which is something near the height of unrealpolitik. France and Germany are traditional enemies, an alliance between them would be as unnatural as the onetime alliance between Germany and Russia.

Mr. Churchill gives emphasis to his proposal by declaring that "in these present days we dwell strangely and precariously under the shield, and I will even say protection, of the atomic bomb." When he even says "protection," by whom could he possibly mean? By the United States. Against whom? Against Russia. For all the stateliness of his language, Mr. Churchill has indulged himself at this point in a piece of atomic jingoism.

—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

CHURCHILL ON EUROPE

Churchill has been wrong on occasions; but often he has been right. In appealing to the people of Europe to unite and try to live and work together, he offered the only formula calculated to bring peace and opportunity to engage in the pursuit of happiness in Europe.

Unless France and Germany can live together in accord, there is little hope for a peaceful or prosperous Europe—or for world peace.

Whether the peoples of the world are ready for world cooperation remains to be seen. Whether they want peace sufficiently to pay the price of peace remains to be seen.

What it amounts to is that all nations, big and small, must

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be willing to give up their sovereign right to use war as a means of adjusting international differences.

If this procedure is to be effective, there must be impartial international courts of arbitration in which the nations of the world have confidence. There must be some international authority capable of enforcing the verdicts of the international courts.

Whether the dissenters are right or not, the peoples of the world owe it to themselves and to posterity to exhaust every resource to make the Churchill formula work.

If it can't be made to work now, we may never have another chance to try it.

—*The Chicago Daily News*

CHURCHILL'S "UNITED STATES OF EUROPE"

Fortunately, British official circles seem cool to Mr. Churchill's Zurich speech on a United States of Europe. The final concept of some form of European union is one of immense appeal. That cannot be said of Mr. Churchill's approach.

Unquestionably, much of the coolness of his countrymen's reaction springs from the sheer impracticability of the Churchill proposals. The London *Times* puts it delicately when it says that many will see in his speech not an appeal for a United States of Europe but of Western Europe. He would base the union, above all, on France and Germany; or rather, as "many" will understand it, on France and western Germany—outside the Soviet sphere.

Yet any prospect of placing France in such a federation—formalizing and deepening a Western European split with Eastern Europe and Russia—would split France asunder, given the political lineups in that country. It would, indeed, split Western Europe as a whole. Nor is it easy to see how any patriotic French party could espouse the nuclear French partnership with Germany which Mr. Churchill proposes—unless it is to be one of French hegemony over western Germany. Finally, one wonders just how any part of occupied Germany, without effective free government of its own, could share with France the immediate, urgent task of leading for a European federation, as Mr. Churchill advocates.

Peace and civilization require the renaissance of Western Europe, the cradle of so many of our liberties. Its influence should be world-wide, in friendly co-operation—and contest—with America, Russia and Britain. The influence of the two great non-European Western Powers naturally is and will be

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greater and more direct on Western than on Eastern Europe. But no good end will be served by trying to make France and her neighbors pawns in the struggle of the three great powers.

—*The Chicago Sun*

CHURCHILL'S DREAM

The more one contemplates the present plight of the Old World—a hopelessly divided, hungry and unhappy continent—the more attractive becomes that ideal of European unity and harmony which Mr. Churchill expounded with his customary eloquence. "If Europe were once united in sharing its common heritage," as he righly says, "there would be no limit to the prosperity, happiness and glory which 300 or 400 million people would enjoy."

Not for a long time, however, will the ideal which the former British Prime Minister portrayed come to reality. Mr. Churchill himself, no doubt realizes this. The unity of Europe which he feels France and a peaceful Germany should promote depends for its consummation on support not only from the nations inhabiting the continent but also from Great Britain, the United States and Russia. There appears to be no immediate likelihood that the project will get agreement, say, from Russia, which has thrown up what Mr. Churchill himself called an iron curtain across mid-Europe. It is the division of Europe into two great areas closed off from each other that underlines both the difficulty of uniting that continent and the need of unity.

The speech, nonetheless, is of great value. It shows that, having allowed himself at Tehran to dally with great power spheres of influence and zones of authority, Britain's great war leader has come around to the belief that such concepts are ruinous in their application, that, in the last analysis, the most realistic solution of Europe's problem is also the most idealistic.

—*The Washington Post*

CHURCHILL AT ZURICH

Churchill, still prodded by an overwhelming distrust of Russia, cannot wholly divorce himself from the idea of the establishment of a democratic bloc, and his proposal for a "United States of Europe" embracing primarily Germany, France and Britain is essentially a proposal for an anti-Russian bloc.

If there is a way to bring the world into enduring peace, it is not that way. Blocs are the historic predecessors to war, and

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the breeders of suspicion. What the world is hunting now is a system which will be the predecessor of peace, and the annihilator of suspicion.

Agreeing with Churchill's basic formula for peace springing from a mass resolve to "do right," which may be interpreted as meaning to do peaceably, let's examine the alternative techniques by which this heterogeneous mass of inhabitants may be persuaded to adopt such a resolve. Not, as Churchill suggests, through cultural kinship alone, because in Central Europe that kinship has existed for centuries—and so has war.

The trouble with Europe has been a lack of political kinship, and that lack has never been so pronounced, or so dangerous, as now. How is such political kinship achieved?

A rough parallel can be found in the original 13 American colonies before the Revolution. Tremendous rivalries existed at first, and these were fanned by sectional jealousies, religious jealousies, political jealousies. When it came to second-generation colonists—once removed from the original tyrannies that drove their parents across the sea—one principal thing was held in common: trade. Progress was dependent upon a thriving trade with each other and increasingly with Europe. Thereby was built a tangible community of interest which flourished and grew stronger. Because it had to do with livelihood, it proved strong enough to overcome the lesser differences of religion, politics and nationality and weld the country into a United States of America.

In applying this parallel to Europe, or to the world, it is possible to predict that the full realization of such a community of commercial interests would go far toward welding a genuine United States of the World. The other differences would be resolved if it became clear that such a union worked for the economic benefit of all. But it is impossible of achievement in a world where one section of the world bands against another.

We are not naïve enough to say with assurance that the bloc system Churchill seems to favor may not come anyway; that the immaturity of men may not divide the world in the future as it has in the past.

We merely say that we still have the United Nations, embracing all the principal members of the world, including those against whom the bloc would operate, and that consequently there still remains a chance to resolve a United States of the World. Because this chance remains, it would be foolish voluntarily to step backward into a pattern which is doomed to failure, when we still may march forward and find a road to peace.

—*The San Francisco Chronicle*

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Country Comment:

Praise for the Penny Postal

HOW does it happen that in a day of rising prices and falling values, of high-pressure advertising and low standards, the U. S. Postal Card remains a gem of purity, simplicity and economy? By what happy freak of luck has it escaped being expanded, stepped-up, improved, modernized, stream-lined, promoted and inflated?

It is worth careful looking at—this U. S. Postal Card. The stock is a delicate warm buff, and the printing is in a quiet pastoral green. The head of that dauntless democrat and lover of country life, Thomas Jefferson, serves as the stamp. Surrounding the head are these words in small letters: "U. S. Postal Card . . . One Cent." In still smaller letters is the word "Jefferson." The only other words occur in the center:

This Side of Card is for Address

On the other side are no words at all. Not a mark, not a scratch. Not the slightest hint to be more patriotic and give, or to be more self-indulgent and buy. A virgin-pure expanse. And you are free to write any message you choose. If you write compactly, you can get a fairly long letter on it. The surface takes pencil, ink or typing equally well. The card is flexible enough to go into the typewriter easily, and stiff enough to go through the mail unrumpled.

Who designed this little masterpiece? Who chose the faultless color scheme? Who had the taste for economy of word and simplicity of line? Who thought of Jefferson, the man who wanted men free and equal, the president who *walked* to his inauguration?

A U. S. Postal Card stands before me as I write. I like to look at it. It says little; it says much. It says nothing I don't believe in. I can send it to a friend all the way across the country from green Amherst to the Golden Gate. It will not go by air, but it will get there safely and soon enough. I like to think that the cost of writing to friends has not risen in my lifetime.

While the newspapers are filled with charges of waste, inefficiency and corruption in government, the U. S. Postal Card remains honest, straightforward and efficient. While the government printing presses are turning out tons of legalistic jargon and gobbledygook, they are also turning out U. S. Postal Cards in clear, brief English. While the National Debt mounts by the tens of billions, the U. S. Postal Card still costs one cent.

As long as the U. S. Postal Card remains uncorrupted, shall I wholly despair of my country?

ROBERT FRANCIS

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Dane in America

By George F. Whicher

Professor of English, Amherst College

IT is hard to realize at the present moment the position that the United States once occupied in the imaginations and hearts of Europeans. Far from being suspected of having any sinister desire to dominate the world, this country seemed to stand as the champion of the common man against oppression and want. Here if nowhere else on earth was a place where a worker was not condemned to perpetual bondage, but might rise to affluence by his own efforts.

The Irish-born S. S. McClure may serve as spokesman for what was inarticulately felt by millions of others. "When I came to this country, an immigrant boy, in 1886," he wrote in his *Autobiography*, "I believed that the government of the United States was the flower of all the ages—that nothing could possibly corrupt it. It seemed the one of all human institutions that could not come to harm. This feeling was general, at home and abroad. The nation had, during the Civil War, risen to moral heights which it has never since attained." Inevitably most immigrants were dissillusioned when they found the United States was not the Land of Promise that they had dreamed.

Probably most Europeans who came to America were driven by a strong need to escape from injustice or by the pressure of dire poverty. One or the other of these motives accounted for much of the emigration from Ireland, Germany, Italy and Poland. But the shift of population from the Scandinavian countries in the later nineteenth century was largely due to other causes. Norwegians, Swedes and Danes were not forced by physical need to seek new homes nor were they oppressed by misgovernment. The immigrants were often substantial people who were drawn to this country by the hope of social betterment. They saw in America room for the satisfaction of ambitions that could not be realized where they were. They attached themselves to the new land with passionate hopefulness.

Many more immigrants from Sweden and Norway than from Denmark settled in the Middle Western states and more attention has been given to them than to the groups of Danish farmers who composed a minority of the tenants on the farms of western Iowa and eastern Nebraska. Consequently, a trilogy of documentary novels centered on the fortunes of a Danish family is a welcome accession to our cultural history.

Sophus Keith Winther, the author of the trilogy, was born in Denmark and was brought to the United States at the age of two. Following

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in a large sense the history of his own family, he has put together a sensitive record of human relationships in his account of how Peter Grimsen, his wife Meta, and his sons adapt themselves to life in an unfamiliar land. Fine as they are as a human story, the three novels, *Take All to Nebraska* (1936), *Mortgage Your Heart* (1937), and *This Passion Never Dies* (1938), possess also an enduring significance as a case history illustrating the economic conditions of the period. They make vividly clear the workings of the system which stacked the cards in favor of landlords and bankers, so that the profits of the farmers' labor inevitably found its way into other pockets than their own. Ironically, the men whose incessant and back-breaking toil filled the breadbasket of America to overflowing could themselves hardly put food in the mouths of their own children. Winther is too thoroughly an artist to let his fiction be overwhelmed by propagandistic aims, but at times his pages are sultry with the social indignation inspired by the facts of his story.

The first of the three novels pictures the struggles of the Grimsens with their half grown children to establish themselves on a rented farm in Nebraska after three hopeless years in Massachusetts. The rich prairie soil seems to offer the farmer a sure road to wealth. The processes whereby the wealth he produces will be diverted to others are not obvious at first, but gradually he discovers how subtly he is ensnared. As yet it is still possible for Peter and Meta to think of returning to the old country and the life they have known, but they conquer both their cultural nostalgia and the hazards of uncertain crops. When the book ends, Peter has decided to take out naturalization papers. Nebraska owns him.

The theme of the second novel is the growing rift that opens between immigrant parents and their children, who unconsciously acquire American habits and forget the values that Europeans instinctively recognize. This painful alienation of the younger generation from the older is dramatized in the coming of age of Peter's older sons and their inevitable turning to the new ways of life which separate them in spirit from the home circle. Thus, the transition to America adds unforeseen depth to the natural abyss between old and young.

The third novel deals with the ultimate defeat of Peter Grimsen during the depression that follows the first World War. Though he loses all the possessions that he has worked for over 20 years to win, and dies a broken man, he has not been totally unsuccessful. He has planted his family in American soil, though not as proprietors of their own acres as he had once dreamed. With true American independence, the Grimsen boys have followed their own leadings, and for better or worse, have made their own terms with life.

The interior conflict which accompanies the external struggle in these novels is beautifully symbolized in the quiet suffering of Peter's wife, Meta, who loses the little daughter that her heart has always yearned for, in the early years of their life in Nebraska. At the end, she finds

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a vicarious fulfillment of her longing for a little girl to cherish in the birth of her son's daughter.

The three novels have been translated into both Danish and Swedish. The aspects of life in the United States which they place before Scandinavians are conveyed with a fullness of understanding and a depth of feeling that should still be memorable when the strident satires of Sinclair Lewis are forgotten. The solid reality of Winther's work can only be appreciated in the larger episodes of the novel, but a moment of reflection quoted from *Mortgage Your Heart* may stand as an example of his penetration. It is a touching account of what the Fourth of July meant to immigrants who, even while they were being plundered by an acquisitive society, clung steadfastly to their vision of America as the land of freedom:

> Perhaps this day appeals even more strongly to immigrant children than to native-born Americans. To the children of immigrants it symbolizes the spirit of the country, a spirit they all hunger for, yearn passionately to understand. The immigrant drinks at the fountain of a new life, never seeming to quench his thirst for that which he believes to be good. His very passion for all that is embodied in the American tradition of liberty helps in part to account for the foreigner who sometimes becomes a radical. It is his love for the ideals which he learned fresh and unspoiled as part of the American tradition that inspires him to go beyond the limits of established customs and practices. It is his unquenchable thirst for social justice and freedom that makes the newcomer a citizen. This love of freedom and justice is often the driving force which tears up a man's roots in an old civilization and sets him with his family on the long trek to his new home. Thus, his great virtue, which is a love of liberty so strong that he will give up all the ties of his own native land to become a citizen of the new, may also at times turn the immigrant into a dissatisfied radical. When the immigrant has to admit that freedom and justice are denied to the poor, he experiences a double tragedy, for it means not only unhappiness in the immediate situation, but also a defeat of his inner self. No tragedy is more persistent and real than the sorrow a man must carry in his heart, often unexpressed, all his life long, the tragedy of having left his home country, friends, familiar sights, and that most precious jewel which is the central pivot of human life, the gift of his native dialect. To be an immigrant, cut off from the rich idiom of one's native land, is a tragedy that has been enacted millions of times in this home of the immigrant. To make up for it, he seeks the ideals that have been its traditions from the days of the Puritan settlement and the Revolutionary War. His rebellion, which is often attacked by intrenched conservatism as un-American, is in truth just the opposite; it is truly American, for it asks that the ideals upon which the United States was founded be worshiped in truth and in spirit.

The ideals of a free society, which Americans of older stock have loosely taken for granted and not infrequently held with a certain indifference, still retain their preciousness in the eyes of recent comers. For criticism of the failure of the

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American society to live up to its opportunities, we must turn to the children of European parents. They have become the best guardians of our traditions.

Sophus Winther, who is professionally a teacher of English at the University of Washington, has long been interested in problems of society and the rationale of human behavior. His first book, *Eugene O'Neill, A Critical Study* (1934), was in effect a plea for the freshening of the ideas by which men and women live. It gave hearty support to the dramatist's iconoclastic attacks on the stuffy citadels of convention.

In his latest novel, *Beyond the Garden Gate,* Winther has written an astringent comment on the social timidity of Americans in a typical small city. The freest people the world has ever seen act as though they were afraid to call their souls their own. Their morality is merely protective. Rather than face down gossip, they stampede like sheep. Rather than take responsibility, they duck to cover like so many gophers. Yet it is possible for strong, poised, healthy individuals to resist the timorousness of the herd.

The story of the novel is one of human relations. Tom and Elizabeth Bailey of Eugene, Oregon, are well-mated, natural people, akin to sunlight and fresh air. They have three children just coming of age. Bruce has a natural aptitude for the family hardware business and is engaged to the ultra-respectable Mercy Whittleworth, daughter of the local bank president. Forrest, a senior at the University, has not yet found his vocation, but is not likely to accept a humdrum routine. Alice, just finishing high school, is a charmingly serious young intellectual, currently interested in modeling her life on the teachings of Lucretius.

The complication arises unexpectedly but naturally. Forrest is surprised into sexual relations with a childlike farm girl, Nancy. The episode is purely physical and has no lasting significance to him. Soon afterward, however, he encounters in Gael Patterson his counterpart and predestined mate. By the time Forrest and Gael have arrived at a firm and tested reliance on each other, Nancy has discovered that she is pregnant and in her simple and confiding way goes to town on the day of the County Fair to find Forrest, who will make everything right for her. Failing to find him and becoming desperate, she tries to walk home on a stormy night and is picked up exhausted and half dead from exposure. After an attack of pneumonia, she lapses into schizophrenic apathy. Forrest first learns of Nancy's condition when a rabid sectarian bigot secures his arrest under circumstances which make for the greatest possible publicity.

There ensues the stampede of the timid. The respectable Whittleworths immediately separate themselves from the tarnished Baileys. Forrest's college fraternity, though its sexual morals are none of the highest, immediately disowns him. Alice is publicly cut by the girls who were recently rushing her for a sorority. Public behavior achieves the indecency of a panic on a sinking ship.

In the crisis, the family loyalty of the Baileys is unshaken, and that

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includes Gael. Forrest decides that his first responsibility is to do whatever may promote Nancy's recovery. He is supported, not by the guardians of morality, but by a research scientist from the East. An intelligent application of modern medical technique, pictured in one of the most dramatic episodes of the novel, brings a humane solution to the tangled situation. Nancy is completely happy with her baby and Forrest and Gael are free to marry.

In summarizing the theme of the book, I have necessarily omitted any hint of its solid actuality. The backgrounds and minor characters are extraordinarily real. The novel is saturated with the feeling of the region. It presents a kind of American life that is deeply rooted in the soil.

Moreover, it supports a thesis that Walt Whitman was fond of stating, namely the idea that rightness is not a matter of conscious moral choice in a crisis, but of instinctive healthiness going back to the sources of a man's being. The Baileys are happily mated, well nourished and reasonably prosperous. They have the sense to let their children grow up naturally with no discipline except sensible advice and the protection of their parents' unhesitating belief in them. Consequently, in a time of strain, Forrest and Bruce both rely on what is deepest in their natures, and being sound and healthy, make sound and healthy decisions. They are so secure in their own family relationships that they instinctively take a generous attitude toward others.

This novel is permeated with a sense of the kind of life that free and intelligent human beings can achieve under modern conditions. Americans, or many of them, are descended from people who came to this country to get away from the superstitions, social jealousies and traditional injustices of long-established communities, to work out what Emerson called "an original relation to the universe." The possibility of attaining a satisfactory life when the individual man takes responsibility for his destiny has been much questioned lately by T. S. Eliot and others, who would have us return to the old ways of authority. The great quality of Winther's writing is that he does not share this discouragement but still keeps his faith in the idea of reaching the good society through enlightenment, science and individual freedom. "They were quite aware of what it means to be human," is the last sentence of his most recent book. No one can read this novel without having that meaning made emotionally profound.

Such a book as this may offend prissy people, and it certainly will not please the enthusiastic devotees of college fraternities. But Winther has performed a notable service to American civilization in producing a piece of fiction that so clearly envisages what our often confused experiment in living is all about.

• Sublety: art of saying what you want to say and getting out of range before it is understood.

—*Philnews*

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For One Marrying in the House Where He Was Born

O wise you are to happen
To wed where you were born!
The root you were and will be,
My son, is still untorn.

Your history is the apples'
Bud, blossom, and the fruit,
Son, husband, and the father,
From root to tree to root.

One year beyond Atlantic,
One past Pacific's tide,
Yet where you came to breathing
You come now to your bride.

Through wayward years and places,
The unpathed air of life,
Straight as the homing pigeon
You come home for a wife.

The lonely mortal circle
Returns and curves in right,
Two of the three man-moments
Are rounded safe this night.

The birth-bed and the bride-bed,
The one with the whispered name—
Two of the three beds waiting
All men you find the same.

O mount your bed and prosper!
Be it the third bed, too,
May thirty thousand suns rise
Before it quiets you.

Robert P. Tristam Coffin

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Books in Brief

By Jasper R. Lewis

BIOGRAPHY IN NEW ENGLAND

PROBABLY many of his *confrères* in the profession of editor will snarl in disagreement, but, to Ellery Sedgwick, his livelihood was earned in *The Happy Profession* (Atlantic-Little Brown, $3.50). The jacket states: "The Editor's profession is to go adventuring in Human Nature and 30 years of it as 8th editor of *The Atlantic Monthly* make up the record of a happy and amusing life."

The book is mildly autobiographical; that is, the family tree and Sedgwick's antecedents are gently placed, in Stockbridge, Massachusetts (although he was born in New York City). Except for brief mention of his boyhood troubles at school, he does not devote more than a passing notice to the details. When he does, it is with relish of memories, spiced with humor. In fact, his sense of humor shows itself sometimes in sly phrasing, as when he mentions the "pinched little room where Calvin Coolidge was born."

Groton, then Harvard, receive their due, but Sedgwick's principal topic is the job of editing. His own experiences included the bitter with the sweet. The bitter fortunately came first. *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* was his early task, in the days when it was tobogganing. He relates with gusto his troubles with the publisher, the bank and F. Wayland Ayer, the advertising titan. Some of his finds, obscure then, are famous now: Dorothy Canfield, Ellis Parker Butler and others. Some of his pet peeves are also confessed, S. S. McClure possibly the chief among them. He also seems impatient with the over-adulation of our great Washington and Lincoln, as evidenced by the exaggerated pen worship of authors. When he gets to the elite of Boston, he treads blithely on sacred corns with memories of the very human failings of the great, or with *bon mots* which seldom are ascribed to the sages of New England.

He dares to write of Amy Lowell: "I think of Amy Lowell of impossible manners and a golden heart. Her poetry may have been temporary, but it was talk wherein her real genius lay." That is sacrilege in Boston. But his admiration for a plain solid citizen like Al Smith is equal to other's worship of the Cabots.

His own gift of writing is manifest; he says of Theodore Roosevelt: ". . . like every Roosevelt, (he) thought no career too valuable to be twisted from its orbit to do him service."

However, it is not all reminiscence. Some of his cardinal beliefs about his profession are offered. "The simple essential ingredient . . .

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is interest." Don't neglect prejudice, "but don't bear down too hard upon it in too many directions at once. Let the contributor draw their (the readers') fire." Open-mindedness is of first importance. There are many other hints on editing, not in lecture form, but passing comment, such as the duty of traveling to learn at first hand, allegiance to truth and taste, hatred of cant. Possibly his own opinion is best expressed by his quotation from Edward Fitzgerald at the beginning of the book: "The power of writing one fine line transcends all the able-editor ability in this ably-edited universe." Sedgwick was an able editor, and, in this gem of a book, he has more than one fine line of his own. It is fascinating reading for anyone who has touched printers' ink.

Atmosphere being the basis of all things cultural, a good place to read *The Lowells and Their Seven Worlds*, by Ferris Greenslet, (Houghton, Mifflin, $4.00), is in the Berkshires, say Lenox, Massachusetts. If the able Greenslet can bring to life the Lowells of three centuries past, surely the octogenarians of the hostel Curtis resemble the wraiths of the stately New Englanders who people the pages of the book. They live in the world of yesterday and help recreate the illusion of another era.

The Lowell family traces itself back to the battle roll of William the Conqueror, and, as Lowle, the line comes clear down through the ages to the present scions. The first to grace American shores was Percival Lowle, who left his Bristol import and export business in protest against "government in business" in the 1630's. The trials of the new settlers were in the familiar New England pattern, but it is with their descendants that we are more concerned.

The Reverend John Lowell was the first of the family to graduate from Harvard, but there were always Lowells in important places, whether in the wars with the Indians and the French or in the American Revolution. With each generation, the family seemed to prosper materially. Several became judges in succeeding years, and Greenslet relates some of the early trials that made them widely known. Their social life is described as being first inclined toward mingling, but "they got some Cabot women that shut them up." From then on, they appeared to become clannish, though their prestige and power grew.

It was in the nineteenth century that the more popularly known Lowells flourished: the poet, James Russell, the architect, Guy and, of course, Amy. While in the earlier portions Greenslet rounds out his facts with suppositions, in the writing of the later figures he has more than enough facts and knowledge to portray his subjects.

The Lowells is as much a history of New England as it is biography, for through the years of war, industrial growth and educational advancement, members of the family were playing a leading part. Indeed, the cultural importance of the name has become so fixed in our minds that seldom (except possibly in Boston), is it remembered that

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the foundation of the family fortunes rested upon shrewd business acumen. Greenslet, himself now a Brahmin, if by adoption, is a bit tender in his chronicling of that side. The wages of the girls in the Lowell factories (in the 1840's) averaged $3.15 weekly, of which $1.25 was deducted for board and room. That may have been reasonable at the time, but it sounds much like a starvation wage. However, with the solid foundation of wealth, the Lowells were able to give themselves to civic growth and education: the history of Harvard is witness.

Of Amy Lowell, Greenslet is enthusiastic and sorrowful, the result of personal professional acquaintance. Oddly enough, it was Ellery Sedgwick, then editor of *The Atlantic Monthly,* who accepted her first published sonnet, although he does not mention it in *The Happy Profession.*

By way of epilogue, Greenslet compares the Lowell and Adams families—the two outstanding clans of New England pioneers. The Lowells do not come off second best. Altogether, whether for the story of the Lowells or for a narrative of New England in the making, *The Lowells* is an important contribution to the literature of yesteryear.

BRIEFER COMMENT

GENERAL INTEREST

Dinner At the White House, by Louis Adamic, (Harpers, $2.50), is delightful in its first part and thoughtful in its last. The Adamics were invited to the private farewell dinner to Churchill in January, 1942, probably so that F. D. R. could watch Churchill's reactions on meeting the author of *Two-Way Passage.* In that volume, Adamic had offered some suggestions about Europe not too pleasing to English taste. Adamic reports on the dinner, the conversation and the President's attitude. The personal picture is fresh and intimate, although the author seems more enthusiastic about Eleanor Roosevelt than Franklin D. The second part of the book gives the author's own after-reflections on the conversation at the dinner and a consideration of the problem in Europe — not the war, but after. Yet we do not have to accept Adamic's opinions on everything. In his musings, he mentions Wallace as one of the few big figures who really has his ear to the ground.

Some inside views of F. D. R.'s character may be gleaned from *Thank You, Mr. President,* by Merriman Smith, (Harpers, $2.50). Smith, White House Correspondent for United Press, doesn't tell any state secrets, but describes in a cheerful direct style what went on in press conferences and in the White House. He tells of the death scene at Warm Springs in a sympathetic manner, but he also appraises some of the President's traits in frank but not approving fashion. His book includes the beginning of Truman's presidency. Evidently he feels that the new executive has found it necessary to change his outlook and personal opinions.

Some of the critical columns of John Mason Brown, which first ap-

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peared in the *Saturday Review of Literature,* are made into *Seeing Things,* (Whittlesey House, $3.00), for the delectation of those who do not know S. R. L. They range from observations on La Guardia to encomiums on Ernie Pyle, and, whatever the topic, they are interesting and well written.

Fabulous Empire, by Fred Gipson, (Houghton, Mifflin, $3.00), is a combination biography and Wild West adventure. It is Colonel Zack Miller's story of the famous Miller Brothers 101 Ranch show, and the pioneering G. W. Miller family. It is full of laughs and exciting moments, told straight from the shoulder by Zock Miller in authentic cowboy language. It makes excellent entertainment.

The efforts of the German Church and its servants to withstand Hitlerism are related in *The Rebirth of the German Church,* by Stewart W. Herman, (Harpers, $2.50). The author writes from personal contacts with churchmen after V-E Day, describing some of the incidents in which ministers struggled against the Nazis. There is a plea for a new concept of Christianity in Germany, and a belief that out of the mess something will arise fundamentally better and more desirable than the old indifference. A preface by Pastor Martin Niemöller asks forgiveness for past guilt and for help for the future.

From the Top of the Stairs, by Gretchen Finletter, (Atlantic-Little Brown, $2.50), is a friendly little book of memories of the daughter of Walter Damrosch. Many famous people appear. It has an intimate, natural atmosphere of authenticity, with pleasant glimpses of the celebrated conductor and some important figures of a few decades back.

The difficulties of winning Chinese confidence in American medical ways is well told in *Doctors East, Doctors West,* by Edward H. Hume, M. D., (Norton, $3.00). Dr. Hume went to China 40 years ago in behalf of the Yale-in-China medical school. His experiences were less medical than sociological and psychological. This is a human interest story of the first water.

FICTION

Thomas Heggen spent four years in the Navy, and a voice whispers that he knows the ways of the men aboard ship. *Mister Roberts,* (Houghton, Mifflin, $2.50), is as salty as the sea. A group of separate incidents bound together by the crew of the S. S. *Reluctant* and a thread of continuity in the characters, together make fiction out of the peeves and hates of the men and their lives aboard ship and on shore leave. It is strong stuff, realistic, engrossing and excellently written.

The Golden Egg, by James Pollak, (Holt, $3.00), is the success story of the Levinsky family—and a long drawn-out story it is. The motion picture business is the vehicle, and family affairs, love and production run side by side. Here and there it is absorbing, but there is far too much of the obvious dragged in. The characters are in the familiar pattern. It is not eulogistic of the business side.

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Jule, by George Wylie Henderson, (Creative Age, $2.50), is a story of an Alabama Negro boy who had to head North because he struck the white man who felt he had exclusive rights to the boy's girl. From there to Harlem the boy encountered more women and excitement which culminated in a logical conclusion. Jule's character is strongly drawn. While the telling is ultra modern, it reads close to actualities, if you don't object to the facts of life.

Typically French in its characterization and viewpoint, *Woman of the Pharisees,* by François Mauriac, (Holt, $2.50), is the tale of a French youth and a stepmother who is the goddess in the machine of the story. The stepmother was one who "proceeded to yield utterly to her craving for self-abandonment and surrender." She is the central figure, and dominates the other characters. The story concerns the development of the family under her influence, and her own self-chosen martyrdom. It is smoothly translated by Gerard Hopkins.

A. A. Milne is, of course, a versatile and prolific writer. His newest, *Chloe Marr,* (Dutton, $2.75), is a very conversational, meandering novel of English social life, and a young lady who is possibly attractive and surely tiresome to the reader, if not to her many suitors.

The Three Blossoms of Chang-an, by Keith West, (Macmillan, $2.75), is a Chinese story of charm and leisurely interest. Set in the old China, with its strange customs, it is concerned with the three wives of a somewhat inconspicuous magistrate's secretary, and his pleasant if fatalistic philosophy. Simple escape reading, but refreshing.

The Devil Is a Lonely Man, by Morrison Wood, (Crowell, $3.00), is said to be the only novel done by the author. It was written while Wood was a soldier in the Pacific, where he died in a Japanese prison. It is a narrative of a seeker after power who wins it and women; in fact, it is mostly about love affairs. Probably the author intended only to amuse himself in his solitary moments. It is not good fiction.

Admirers of the Hornblower stories will find *Lord Hornblower,* (Little, Brown, $2.50), one of the usual adventure stories of C. S. Forester, with Napoleon in the background. It is a good sea tale. Napoleon, of course, is the loser, and Lord Hornblower does not fail his readers.

A novel about the home-coming of a soldier and his impressions back in his home town is better than average because of its apparent genuine thought for the ex-service man. *Restless Road,* by Bert R. Ferris, (Houghton, Mifflin, $2.50), is descriptive of the lost feeling that goes with severance after several years in the army. Ferris' hero is sound G. I., not theatrical, and an ordinary human being. Some of the stupidity shown by veterans' bureau employees is manifested, and some of the resulting damage to lives.

● Chaplain's sign: "If you have troubles, come in and tell us about them. If you haven't, come in and tell us how you do it."

—Parts Jobber

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An even draw

Britain's Argentine Pact

By Virginia Prewett

From her column in the Chicago Sun

THE new British-Argentine economic agreement adds up to a draw in spite of a British concession of a half per cent interest on the part of Argentina's blocked sterling in England. The British gained their most important point in holding the meat price increase to 10½ per cent in the face of Argentine demands for a 300 per cent increase.

The agreement to form a mixed capital company to take over British-owned railways, though apparently favorable to the British, has jokers in the proposed evaluation of the lines and the right of the Argentine government to buy shares of the new company at par on reasonable notice.

Postponement of an over-all commercial agreement until later, with the Roca-Runciman agreement in force until the end of the year, is considered favorable to the British.

The settlement affecting the blocked sterling is called the most important in British history—second only to the United States loan to Britain — because of the fact that Britain has a total of £4,000,000,000 ($16,000,000,000) blocked in all countries.

The British have agreed to allow Argentina to use the balance to repatriate British investments in Argentina and in Argentine national, provincial and municipal debts. A total of £10,000,000 ($40,000,000) is freed to pay Argentina's debt to Brazil. In addition, £5,000,000 ($20,000,000) yearly for four years is entirely freed.

The interest of one-half per cent to be paid on the balance is a victory in principle for Argentina. Continued British control of the balance is a point for the British because they are extremely anxious to keep as much as possible of this balance to revive overseas trade.

The British railways are to be taken over by a company formed with British capital, with the Argentine government or private capital. Argentina guarantees to spend $125,000,000 in pesos on the new equipment in five years.

The new company is guaranteed to earn four per cent and is prohibited from distributing more than a six per cent dividend. The apparent advantage of the guaranteed dividends for the British is offset by a clause permitting the Argentine government to buy shares on reasonable notice.

The biggest joker in the railways agreement which, on the surface appears so favorable to the British, is the fact that the value of the lines still is to be set. The British claim the lines are worth $1,000,000,000 while the Argentines call them scrap iron, not worth half that amount.

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The meat contract, which is the most important immediately for the British public, gives Argentina a "45 per cent price increase over the first wartime contract," which means approximately 10½ per cent over the present prices.

This is a face-saver for Argentina and a life-saver for Britain, who claims she is paying 300 per cent more on products other than meat bought from Argentina. The British say that the meat is only half their purchases.

Argentina won a point in her right to reserve part of the meat for other buyers, holding back 17 per cent for this purpose the first year and 22 per cent the second. For the third and fourth years of the four-year meat agreement, both prices and amounts are to be renegotiated.

At the joint announcement of the agreement, President Juan D. Perón emphasized that "Argentinization" of the railways fulfills his promises to congress.

"We once needed foreign capital but now we have come far and must be independent," he said.

The British negotiator, Sir Wilfrid Eady, said: "This is not just an economic pact, but also a pact of friendship, the sealing of an ancient friendship."

It was learned reliably that the British mission actually was on the point of leaving the country without an agreement when the Argentines saved the negotiations at the last minute in an approach to the British.

An economic fallacy

Deferred Demand

By Russell Weisman

From his column in the Cleveland Plain Dealer

THE *Times* published a letter from one of its readers on the causes of the stock market break which seemed to me particulary apt. The writer made one particular point which, it seems to me, deserves careful thought in connection with the probable course of business in the future. It is contained in the following paragraph:

". . . The public has done some extravagant reasoning about the size of the deferred demand for goods. Much of this has been based on the strange theory that when scarcities once more become available the public will buy not only its current requirements but all the things is did not buy during the war period when goods were not obtainable. Actually, when most goods become obtainable deferred demand becomes only current demand and that is all. Many of the markets which could

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not be satisfied during the war period of scarcities have been forever lost."

Here is a bold challenge of the whole philosophy of accumulated demands which a majority had believed and still believes will prevent more than a mild recession in industrial activity and employment.

I tried the theme of the letter on a friend and despite the fact that we had frequently considered the probability that wants would not be enough to keep the business machine in high gear, the thought had never crossed either of our minds that deferred demands tend to become current and that markets which were not satisfied in the war period might be lost forever.

Reflecting on his own dispositions and spending habits, my friend was inclined to believe that the point of the letter was well taken and that the importance of deferred demands, at least as they affected him, had probably been exaggerated.

He observed, for example, that under ordinary conditions he would probably have bought two automobiles in 1943 and again in 1945. He had been accustomed to buy cars in alternate years without regard to the condition of the cars he turned in or the price of the new cars.

But the necessities of the war period, he admits, have completely altered his thinking. He says that it will be more difficult to sell him new cars in 1947 than it would have been in 1943 or 1945.

In his case, the four cars that were not available in 1943 and in 1945 have dropped out of the picture entirely, the work of their production lost forever rather than deferred as we had been inclined to believe.

I suspect upon analysis we would all arrive at similar decisions with respect to many of our own demands, deferred and current. For example, the fact that men could not buy white shirts during much of the war period does not mean that when white shirts become available once more they will all proceed to buy all the shirts they would normally have bought in the war period.

What we have done is to nurse along the prewar supply, supplementing it here and there with a sport shirt or a colored shirt, and, like the automobile my friend did not buy, the white shirts men generally were forced to go without have been pretty largely lost, I suspect, to the manufacturers and the distributors.

Possibly, very probably even, the demand for white shirts will not come back for a long time to come. With what we have learned unwillingly about shirts of other types, our habits may very well have been changed for a long time.

Certainly there is good reason to believe this principle is applicable in a very high degree to the demand for new automobiles. It is going to take some very marked improvements year by year to convince the typical motor car owner that he ought to turn in a one or two-year-old car, that has run less than 35,000 miles, because a tire has blown out or the battery has had to be replaced.

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The Theatre Arts

By John Gassner

IT is fortunate for the theatre arts in this country that while the stage is distinctly seasonal and invariably warms its motor for a good while before getting started every autumn, there is nothing seasonal about the film industry. Its products—good, bad or indifferent—leave the assembly line with mechanical regularity. Although there is necessarily no cause for elation in this, there is at least some semblance of activity in what is (sometimes dubiously) known as the entertainment field. This is in line with further compensations in the field such as the fact, overlooked by purist criticism, that when the substance of a play or a film is pinchbeck, the spectator may still pick out a few nuggets here and there in performance or in some particularly exciting piece of stage or camera business.

The most exciting news on the film front is the return of the tough, hard-as-nails school to something of the status it enjoyed during the heyday of the gangster picture at the beginning of the 'thirties. Time was when we became heartily sick of this school of film-making, and a combination of Nice Nellies, more or less sound educators and representatives of the law succeeded in virtually banishing it from the screen. Granted, the influence of the gangster picture was morally bad. Granted, too, the gangster film was poor export material. It gave the rest of the world the impression that Americans were a crime-ridden, violent lot. That was supposed to be bad for international relations, and perhaps it was. (The cynic might perversely argue that it was very good for international relations, considering the gangster nature of international relations. But let us waive the point.) Nevertheless, there was a breezy vigor, an economy of expression, a sense of realism and a feeling for drama in *Little Caesar* and *Public Enemy*. They constituted relief from the tepid romances and anemic adventures that would have completely swamped Hollywood but for the advent of social problems, biographies and war stories. Besides, the tough-grained school, we must remember, did not limit itself to the pastimes of gangsterism but embraced other topics of considerable social importance and dramatic interest. It provided a patina of realism that could be applied to a variety of themes. The better war pictures made good use of it. But with the cessation of hostilities, Hollywood became painfully torpid and inept, and so we spread out the welcome-mat to the good old-fashioned intensities of *The Big Sleep* and *The Killers*.

It may take an Einstein I. Q. to

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figure out the contorted plot of *The Big Sleep,* the latest Humphrey Bogart escapade in breezy, sanguinary detective-work. But the excitement never fags, and the picture of the underworld is particularly impressive since it involves decadence and bedevilment in the upper-class world through Lauren Bacall's unwilling but fascinated involvement with a czar of crime. Moreover, Hollywood is beginning to sneak a little adult passion into its romances in such pieces as *The Big Sleep.* It is sodden, sordid, vulgar if you please, but it is a great relief from the cellophane-wrapped, picture-card view of love that has been a Hollywood commodity for so long. It might even be argued that it is good for the "kiddies." It is infinitely better than the totally unrealistic, treacle view that has been inflicted on a generation which, if it ever grows up, will end up in Reno or on a psychoanalyst's couch; that is, if it is naïve enough to apply Hollywood "babes-in-the-wood" — "glamour-in-the-garden" formulæ to sexual relations. *The Big Sleep* is not only an improvement on Hollwood pabulum by virtue of its realism, but is actually a poetic entity. It evokes a world whose reality is made fantistic by the amount of evil and bedevilment in it. It represents a world which is somehow evocative of the inferno of self-entanglement and shoddy conflicts in which the human race has been writhing for some time. It has many absurdities, too, and a longer review could pick them out for the interested reader. But it also has some perfectly splendid facets. The opening, probably written by none other than William Faulkner, is remarkable for its dialogue and for its setting in a hothouse where a superannuated general keeps himself alive. A weasel-like young man later in the film lets himself be used by a racketeer's widow, whom he loves with hound-like devotion, and is forced to drink poison by the super-gangster's vividly brutal henchmen. This sequence is memorable for the pathos of the little man caught between ruthless antagonisms. For all its many flaws, and although it is a product of social decadence, *The Big Sleep* is fascinating. It is a rank flower of evil and is impressive within the limits of its unpleasant nature. By comparison with it, most stage melodramas, like the wretched early Broadway season's *Hidden Horizon* by Agatha Christie, are household vegetables.

The Killers, a far better ordered and more lucid film, is another example of hard-driving realism. It takes its cue from Hemingway's famous short story but forms an engrossing tale of its own after the opening sequence. As melodrama, it is almost perfect. It gains more weight from the fact that its hero, superbly played by a newcomer to the screen, Burt Lancaster, is a victim of his own character—a character, in turn, which was determined by a society that fails to impress decent values upon its children because its own values are devoid of decency. From prize fighter to payroll snatcher to double-crosser to fugitive from the gangster world, the "Swede's" course is one fitful descent and defeat caused by false

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social values, gullibility, and a hapless passion for a *femme fatale,* played by Ava Gardner with suspensive power. The "Swede's" world is that of the double-cross, and it is a world from which very few escape. He is murdered at the beginning of the film for reasons unknown. An insurance company employee (Edmund O'Brien), fascinated by the clues, solves the murder, after uncovering a *Golden Boy* chronicle of the victim's tragic misadventures. This boyish enthusiast nearly loses his life in the process of detection. His cynical supervisor compliments him on having raised the insurance company's dividend payments by an infinitesimal fraction of one percent! The insurance company, the economic setup and the gangster world are held in the same non-humanistic, ideological emulsion.

Perhaps the proper coda for this note on *The Killers* would be the reflection that in the case of this sample and of *The Big Sleep,* Hollywood is actually more honest than Broadway. The stage is, for the most part, still hugging a pale wraith of humanism to its bosom, pretending that the wraith is real and alive when the world has actually strangled it. It is curious indeed that the harder and the more anti-humanistic the power-scrambling world becomes the more Broadway tends to be tender-minded, if not actually, soft-headed. That this is not necessarily an audience preference is amply proved by the success of such a hard-hitting drama as *Deep Are the Roots,* and of such knife-edged satires as *The State of the Union* and *Born Yesterday.* (The latter has been published by Viking Press. The cutting edge of the play is even sharper than it appeared in the excellent Broadway production.) Yet Broadway producers continue to woo the amenities and present something that is neither good art nor good "box-office."

While Hollywood gives us *The Big Sleep* and *The Killers,* and dredges up from the recent war such adamantine blocks of drama as *O. S. S.* and *Cloak and Dagger,* which exhibit a hard struggle with brutal reality in their accounts of Office of Strategic Services activities, the Broadway season opens with the tamest possible melodramas of the *Hidden Horizon* quality. There is inept juvenile comedy *à la The Birds and the Bees;* and the palest and remotest kind of musical like *Yours Is My Heart,* which has Richard Tauber's occasional singing as its sole and inadequate compensation, and *Gypsy Lady,* an amalgam of two Victor Herbert operettas, in which only the Herbert melodies are not helplessly dated.

There is little to be said about even the best of these efforts, which happens to be *Gypsy Lady.* That is, there is little to be said by a self-respecting critic who is under no obligation to fill a column for a livelihood. The reviewer can report that the costuming by Miles White is charming, that Boris Aronson's sets are lovely to look at. The reviewer can distribute praise of a sort for the singing and acting of Helena Bliss (although she makes a better gypsy than lady, and her high notes recall a tinsmith's workshop). He can pat Clarence Der-

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went and John Macaulay (Baron Pettibois and the Duke of Roncevalle in the play) on the shoulder. The reviewer can even dutifully record that the audiences do not seem markedly miserable and recommend the show to butter-and-egg men. If he is conscientious—and unwary!—he will even attempt to tell the story. He will tell how a tenor tries to get even with snooty aristocracy by transforming a thieving gypsy lass into the princess of Bukhovino and palming her off on the Duke of Roncevalle as a suitable match for the latter's son. The girl's disguise is penetrated, and she returns happily to the gypsy encampment and her deep-throated gypsy lover. But this is as unconscionable a waste of paper as the production is a waste of money and the public's time. Even typical M. G. M. musicals like *Holiday in Mexico* and *Three Little Girls in Blue* have more freshness and offer more visual entertainment. These soufflés are not being offered as the latest products of a three-thousand-year-old art like the theatre which is supposed to be an institution important enough to be memorialized in hundreds of books and even to be subsidized.

The one early season production that can be treated with any seriousness is the revival of *The Front Page,* Ben Hecht's cacophonous farce on American journalism. While lamentably cast in the case of Arnold Moss (who is entirely wrong for the part of the newspaper owner), and although Lew Parker plays Lee Tracy's old rôle with something less than inspired miming, the production serves to remind us that forthrightly observed American life still reaps rewards in the American theatre. Unfortunately, it also reminds us that nothing seems to cure the Parkinson's Disease of average producers who cannot take a walk into the American scene except by accident. Not even a long and uninterrupted series of kicks in the rear from the public and the critics can propel them more than a yard or two.

• It All Comes Out in the Wash Department:

The house where Mussolini was born in Predappio is now a laundry!

• A house-to-house salesman rang the bell of a cheap-looking apartment. As the door opened, he threw in a carefully prepared mudball which disintegrated and made a mess on the front room rug. "Now, don't get excited, lady", he said reassuringly. "I am demonstrating the Super Duper electric vacuum cleaner. If this little wonder doesn't remove every trace of dirt on your rug, I'll eat the whole mudball!"

The indignant housewife left for the kitchen, and soon returned bearing a tray containing a bottle of katsup, a jar of mustard, salt, pepper and a rolling pin. She deposited the condiments with elaborate care, and then picked up the rolling pin and hefted it expertly.

"But, madam", the startled salesman exclaimed, "I don't understand."

"Start eating", she commanded. "We ain't got no electricity!"

—*Elmer Wheeler*

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HIGHLIGHTING

The International Scene

With the close of the 21-nation conference in Paris and with the opening of the 51-nation United Nations Assembly meeting in New York, the emphasis in international affairs shifted from the settlement of one war to the prevention of another. Needless to say, the two problems are interrelated. While the United Nations Assembly is meeting in New York, the Big Four foreign ministers will also be meeting there—well within shouting distance.

FINALE IN PARIS

In the light of its purpose, the conference in Paris was a huge success. It had convened to advise and "recommend" changes in drafts of treaties already drawn up by the foreign ministers of the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France for five enemy countries, Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. Out of the mouths of the 21 nations assembled—those countries who had "taken active and substantial part in the military defeat of the Axis"—came many opinions and suggestions concerning the peace settlements. Discussion brought forth both sharp discord and considerable agreement. But suggestions were nevertheless only suggestions and recommendations nothing more. With the closing of the conference on October 15, the peace treaties still remained only in draft form.

If the voting had been binding, much would have been accomplished in the final plenary sessions which occupied the last week of the meetings. Article by article, the delegates voted on 223 articles and 33 annexes. One after another the treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland were approved by a majority of representatives. Time after time the Western bloc voted one way and the Eastern or communist bloc the other. The count usually ran 15 to 6 with the Soviet bloc in the minority, a minority which will become all-powerful when Molotov exercises the right of veto in the meeting of the Big Four foreign ministers. Thus the conference went on record as approving free commerce and navigation on the Danube; a French plan for government of the Free Territory of Trieste by the United Nations Security Council; Finnish reparations worth $300,000,000 and other measures which are still far from accepted. But the voting was not binding.

The Big Four foreign ministers have decided to meet in New York on November 4 to consider the final drafts of the treaties in the light of the recommendations by the conference. At that time, they will also decide when and where to take up the question of Germany, the much-avoided but ever-present problem. That all will not be easy going was intimated by Molotov at the closing of the Paris meeting. Expressing displeasure with

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the treaties, he accused the United States of heading a group of countries seeking domination, and the United States, with Great Britain and France, of abandoning previous Big Four decisions.

PUNISHMENT

For almost a year the International Military Tribunal had weighed the sins of the top Nazi leaders. These were the men who, with their dead friends, Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler and Joseph Goebbels, were responsible for a 12-year reign of terror in Germany, World War II and the death of some 30,000,000 people. They were being tried for the charges contained in the 25,000-word indictment drawn up by the judicial experts of the Big Four powers last year. Grouped under four major counts, the charges were (1) Participation in a common plan or conspiracy to commit "crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity"; (2) Commission of crimes against peace, in the "planning, initiation or waging of a war of aggression"; (3) Commission of war crimes "through violation of the laws or customs of war"; (4) Commission of crimes against humanity through the murder, enslavement of any civilian population "before or during the war" or "persecution on political, racial or religious grounds".

And the judges at Nuremberg found that the sins of the 21 defendents weighed heavily indeed. Of the 19 defendents that were deemed guilty, 12 were sentenced to hang and the others received prison sentences ranging from life to a mild ten years. Only three were acquitted

—Burch in *The Chicago Times*

"YEAH, BUT THEY CAN'T KILL OUR IDEAS."

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for which the tribunal received a storm of criticism. The condemned and their sentences stand as follows:

Death—Hermann Goering, Reichsmarshal and successor to Hitler; Joachim von Ribbentrop, Reichsminister for Foreign Affairs; Wilhelm Keitel, Field Marshal, Chief of the High Command; Alfred Jodl, Hitler's chief military adviser; Ernst Kaltenbrunner, head of security and criminal police; Alfred Rosenberg, official Nazi philosopher; Hans Frank, Governor General of Poland; Wilhelm Frick, Reichsminister of the Interior; Arthur Seyss-Inquart, Nazi Chancellor of Austria; Julius Streicher, editor of the anti-Jewish newspaper; Fritz Sauckel, foreign slave labor; Martin Bormann, Nazi party leader (in absentia).

Prison—Rudolf Hess, Hitler's secretary, life; Walther Funk, Economics Minister, life; Erich Raeder, Grand Admiral, Commander of the German navy, life; Baldur von Shirach, leader, Hitler Youth, 20 years; Albert Speer, Minister of Armaments, 20 years; Constantin von Neurath, Foreign Minister, 15 years; Karl Doenitz, Grand Admiral of the German fleet, 10 years.

Freedom—Franz von Papen, former Chancellor; Hjalmar Schacht, former Reichsbang President and Economic Minister; Hans Fritzsche, radio propagandist.

In keeping with a court directive, the condemned men were all hanged by October 16. (There was one exception, however. Hermann Goering committed suicide by poison two hours before he was to die.) Pleas for clemency had all been rejected by the International Military Tribunal. Now their names are merely black marks in the pages of German history.

On the other hand, the three men who were allowed to live out the rest of their lives as they so willed found that their popularity had not been regained with their freedom. Only their families welcomed them with open arms; other Germans wanted to arrest them.

THE VOTING FRENCH

If voting is any indication of democracy, France is truly democratic. Eight times since April, 1945, the French people have gone to the polls and expressed their opinion. The first four times they were concerned with municipal and Departmental functionaries. Since last fall, the voting has been for a new constitution. On October 21, 1945, a Constituent Assembly was elected to draft a new constitution and to govern France until the Fourth Republic was established. On May 5, 1946, the work of the assembly was rejected. On June 2, 1946, a new Constituent Assembly was elected.

On October 13, the French people voted again. This time they approved the constitution. But the approval was by no means overwhelming. While a slim but decisive majority of the voters voted "yes", almost a third of the registered voters abstained and the uneasy alliance of the centrist Popular Republican Movement, the Socialists and the Communists threatened to disintegrate. Of the three parties only the Communists

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voted *en bloc* in accordance with their party's instruction. A mere third of the M. R. P. followers voted for the constitution with the remainder either abstaining or voting against it. The Socialists were also divided, but to a lesser extent.

The outstanding result of the referendum is the re-emergence of Charles de Gaulle as a political factor in France. His doubtful "retirement" from French politics and his comments on the proposed constitution while it was being drafted made his re-appearance less unexpected than was formerly supposed. A month before the constitution vote, De Gaulle announced that he was going to urge the people to reject it. Ten days later he denounced the constitution as "a compromise unworthy of the Republic" because it did not provide a strong, balanced state. After the election, friends of De Gaulle said that he was well satisfied with his strong showing in the referendum and hoped to become the first president of the Fourth Republic.

What De Gaulle objected to in the constitution was the weakness of the executive. As it now stands, a five-year Parliament will exercise control of the government. It will be a bi-cameral legislature, whose upper house is advisory with only a restraining influence on legislation. The President will have much the same powers as the President had under the Third Republic.

The French people, however, have not finished voting. On November 10 they go to the polls again. At that time they will elect the first National Assembly to serve under the constitution. This Assembly will meet on November 28 to choose, with the second chamber (The Council of the Republic), the first President of the Fourth Republic.

A VOICE FROM THE KREMLIN

In the absence of press conferences, the foreign correspondents in Moscow put their questions to Premier Stalin in writing, hoping that they might receive an answer. Such was the case when the correspondent from *The Sunday Times* of London received his answer from Stalin. He and the world were relieved by the friendliness of the statement and hoped that it would have some effect on Soviet foreign policy.

Excerpts: "I do not believe in a real danger of a 'new war' . . . I do not think the ruling circles of Great Britain and the United States of America could create a 'capitalistic encirclement' of the Soviet Union even if they wanted to do this, which, however, we cannot affirm . . . the politics of the Soviet Union in the German question comes down to demilitarization and democracization of Germany . . ." To a question on whether or not he believed in the possibility of lasting collaboration of the Soviet Union and Western democracy despite the existence of ideological discord, Stalin replied, "I do, unconditionally." "I do not believe the atomic bomb to be as serious a force as certain politicians are inclined to regard it . . . 'Communism in one country' is fully possible, especially in such a country as the Soviet Union."

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EXCOMMUNICATION

Aloysius Stepnatz, Archbishop of Zagreb, head of the Roman Catholic Church in Yugoslavia, was sentenced on October 11 to 16 years' hard labor and five years' loss of civil rights and confiscation of property. He had been arrested for "crimes against the people" and was charged with active collaboration with Ante Pavelich, Yugoslav quisling, and the Axis. Knowing that the Roman Catholic Church is a resolute enemy of Communism, the world was somewhat skeptic about the whole affair. Official Washington commented that the trial "left a great deal to be desired" and caused "concern and deep worry". On October 14, the Vatican excommunicated all who had contributed physically or morally toward the "crimes" that resulted in the arrest and conviction of Archbishop Stepnatz.

STALEMATE . . . AGAIN

After three weeks of fruitless discussion, the London conference on Palestine adjourned until December 16. By that time, it was officially announced, British officials will have had an opportunity to study the Arab proposals and will have been able to attend the United Nations Assembly meeting starting October 23. But everyone knew that the discussions had been getting newhere.

The conference had originally opened on September 9 to consider a British plan for a partitioned Palestine under British domination. Jewish representatives stayed away from London because they refused to participate in discussions based on the British plan. The important Arab spokesmen also stayed away from the meeting. They were indignant because the British refused to admit the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. In fact, besides the British hosts, only representatives of the Arab League took part in the discussions. And they differed from the British in that they proposed that Palestine be established as an independent Arab state. It was this plan that the British had to have time to study.

Meanwhile, on October 4, two days after the conference adjourned, President Truman made what the British consider an "unfortunate" statement. He urged the British to open Palestine "at once" to "substantial" Jewish immigration and expressed himself in favor of the Jewish Agency's plan for a permanent solution of the problem. With the approach of the congressional elections, Mr. Truman's 1500-word statement was not without political significance.

UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

Speaking at the University of Zurich, Winston Churchill told his audience that his proposal would "astonish" them. He warned them that "time was short" and that it was imperative that the creation of a United States of Europe within the framework of the United Nations be started at once. A partnership between France and Germany (in the early days of World War II, Churchill had urged another partnership—between Great Britain and France) should be established as the first step toward

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such a United States of Europe, whose "friends ands sponsors" would include both Russia and the United States.

Frenchmen were shocked at the idea; communists thought it was another attempt to build up a Western bloc against them. Others considered it an effort to woo Germany away from the possibility of an alliance with the Soviet Union. Political idealists thought it was a practical idea; and Churchill said he would continue to work for such a union.

The Domestic Scene

As fall drew to a close, the people of the nation looked at their domestic paradox with bewilderment. According to a report made by the Department of Agriculture, the greatest crop year in the history of the nation was drawing to a close. A record crop of wheat (1,167,319,000 bushels) and of corn (3,371,707,000 bushels) had been gathered. There were, purportedly, 88,000,000 cattle on the hoof—15,000,000 more than normal. Peaches, plums, pears, potatoes and tobacco were also record crops, and oats, rice, peanuts, walnuts, cherries, sugar cane and grapes were near record crops. Livestock feed was 4 per cent over the 1942 record, a crop which supposedly would open the way to an expansion in the production of meat, dairy and poultry products.

Yet the housewife who doffed her apron and scurried down to the market square found the shelves bare of meat and of meat substitutes such as canned fish, canned soups, eggs, cheese. She found that fats, oils and oil products were short, and that lard, olive oil, shortening, salad dressing, margarine, mayonnaise and soap in any form were practically unobtainable. Sugar and syrups, raisins, saccharine, jams, jellies, preserves and flavored gelatine were scanty. Canned goods, cakes and biscuits, coffee and milk were also hard to come by. The vegetarian was obviously suffering along with the meat eater.

Black markets were flourishing in scarce commodities and, with higher prices and a slowly rising cost of living, laborers on strike grew more determined to stick to their demands. The action of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America who pledged cooperation with the United Automobile Workers and the United Steel Workers of America in demands for a round of wage increases in new contracts was symptomatic of the effect of rising prices.

Politicians are increasingly aware that the shortage paradox of the fall months served to turn once eager voters away from the fold. Voters, like armies, march on their stomachs, and the bareness of the larder embarrassed the Democrats.

A SAUSAGE WAS CHEERED

One year ago 337,000 head of cattle were slaughtered per week to provide just under three pounds of meat for each American. As the meat shortage hit the country this fall, 100,000 head of cattle were put to the

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knife. This amount, if distributed fairly, would provide about three-fifths of a pound per week per person. Actually people in the cattle country, Idaho, Oklahoma, Texas and Nebraska had plenty of beef. In Eastern cities, men and women stood for hours—sometimes all night—in queues before butcher shops, and then might have been too late to get their share of what was doled out. A sausage, under such conditions, was cheered when it appeared.

On June 30, 1946, price controls on meat had lapsed and prices climbed. Cattlemen rushed cattle to market. Two million more head were slaughtered in July and August than were slaughtered the year before in the same months. A 1000-pound steer before June 30 sold for $180; afterwards, the price rose to $290.

On August 21, price ceilings on meat were ordered back by the three-man Decontrol Board, and on September 10 prices were cut back to three per cent above the June 30 levels. The board had discovered that the wholesale price of meat had risen unreasonably, (35 to 80 per cent), and that a condition of "short supply" existed. In some cases, only half-ready animals had been rushed to market to take advantage of the rise in prices. With the renewed controls, animals were sent to feeding lots and the meat supply ebbed to a trickle.

As meat became scarcer, consumers were affected more cruelly than during the war years. Hospitals began to feel the pinch. Boston's Governor, Maurice J. Tobin, ordered the State police and inspectors of the Department of Public Health to look around for any withheld hoard. They discovered 6,000,000 pounds, 2,000,000 of which belonged to the army. The army was asked to release 25 per cent of its 2,000,000-pound supply to Massachusetts sick. John L. Lewis warned the Secretary of Agriculture and the Price Decontrol Board that "miners cannot perform the laborious and hazardous work of producing the nation's coal on cereals and vegetables."

As November 5 drew closer, harried administration officials tried to find a solution that would appease the now thoroughly enraged and hungry voters. On September 25, Representative John W. MacCormack, House majority leader, once well out ahead in the Administration's fight for price control legislation, asked that controls on meat and other scarce commodities be suspended for 60 days. That would at least ease the siuation until after November 5. During the week of October 7, the President met with his high advisors, both political and economic, and the Advisory Board of the O. P. A. filed an appeal for the decontrol of meat with Secretary Anderson, pointing out that there were plenty of cattle on the range—80,000,000 head.

On October 14, at 10 P.M., President Truman, in a move to end the worst meat shortage in the history of the nation, "took the one remedy left" and lifted controls on meat as of October 15. The President put the blame for the disastrous situation on "the group of selfish men" who were deter-

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mined "to wreck price controls no matter what might be the cost to our people."

It was doubtful whether the move would bring a large meat supply into retail shops immediately. According to the American Meat Institute, distribution pipelines were empty; the retailers had practically no meat. Meat stocks were low when farmers refused to bring in livestock under O. P. A. controls. Many employes would have to be rehired and plants reopened. The National Livestock Production Association estimated that it might be midwinter before ample supplies at normal prices would be available.

ON THE STRIKING FRONT

As housewives fumed and politicians trembled, labor viewed the rising cost of living and the resultant drop in real wages with jaundiced eyes. A drop of 8.5 per cent in take-home pay since April, 1945, meant that real wages had dropped to the lowest point since early in the war.

—Herblock in *The Washington Post*
"MOO"

The maritime strikes by C. I. O. unions and A. F. L. unions were settled by September 21. The National Maritime Union, C. I. O., began to send its members aboard ships on the Gulf and Atlantic coasts and the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, C. I. O., and the Marine Firemen, Oilers, and Watertenders, independent, started voting to end their west coast strikes. Yet ships were once again tied up when the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots, A. F. L., and the Marine Engineers Beneficial Associ-

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ation, C. I. O., with 12,000 and 15,000 members respectively, struck on October 1, 1946.

By the end of the week, 543 ships were immobilized on all three coasts and only tankers, colliers, troops ships and supply vessels for the armed forces were moving. The unions were striking after the expiration of their contracts. The M. M. P. asked for a 30 per cent wage increase which would lift a captain's salary from $535 to $695 per month on a Liberty or Class C vessel. The M. E. B. A. demanded a 35 per cent increase raising a chief engineer from $499 to $673 per month.

As the strike progressed, it was evident that wage increases were not the real issue. Shipowners were ready to accede to increased wages, but disputed the union's demand for preferential hiring.

Meanwhile, Pittsburghers were discovering the joys of a powerless life. In June, the independent union of employes of the Duquesne Light Company in Pittsburgh made 32 demands including a revised pension plan, profit-sharing for employes and the public, a union shop, a master contract and a 20 per cent wage increase. The Union threatened to strike at 12:01 A.M., September 10, if its demands were not met and despite weeks of negotiation only Mayor David L. Lawrence's injunction forbidding the union to strike and the company to shut off power stopped the union one minute before striking time. For two weeks the situation lay dormant. Arbitration for its demand of a 20 per cent wage increase was refused by the union, and president George L. Mueller, describing the injunction as nothing but a "scrap of paper", called for a strike.

On September 24, the Union struck at 9:30 A.M. and that afternoon President Mueller was sentenced to jail for one year for contempt of court in defying the temporary restraining order against work stoppage. Slowly the industrial activities of the city were paralyzed and by night some 80,000 persons were estimated to be idle—workers in steelmills, factories, stores and offices. Many establishments closed in an effort to conserve power for vital community services.

The C. I. O. and A. F. L., which had shown little interest in the strike before Mueller was sentenced, immediately rallied to the cause in sympathy strikes. Thirteen thousand United Electrical Workers at Westinghouse joined 8,000 C. I. O. United Steelworkers, employes at the Jones & Laughlin plant. A protest rally was made by 700 Bell Telephone employes. By September 26 the three-judge Common Pleas Court, acquiescing to pressure from a united labor front, dissolved the temporary injunction against the strike and freed Mueller.

The strike continued. Hospitals accepted only maternity and emergency cases. Water was used sparingly. Householders were asked to use only one light per house and nearly 100,000 people were forced into idleness. Those who could still work had to use their cars or hitchhike, as trolley operators refused to cross the picket lines set up by the independent union. Mueller no longer had a solid labor front behind him, however. The A. F. L. and the C. I. O., once the injunction was dissolved, stepped

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out from under stating that they no longer had any interest in the strike.

Strike news in the rest of the nation was anything but stagnant. On September 12 the nine-day Norwalk, Connecticut, teachers' strike ended with a $65,000 increase in the salaries' budget, about $33,000 less than the teachers asked for, and recognition of the Norwalk Teachers Association as the official bargaining agent for 236 teachers.

On September 18, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, A. F. L., reported that 4,715 truck drivers were going back to work in New York with a 31 cents an hour wage increase. In the weeks to follow, the majority of the 15,000 striking truckers went back to work under contracts signed in piecemeal fashion by separate operators. After weeks of coping with trucking and maritime strikes combined, New York business was more than mildly inconvenienced. Losses in the millions were estimated as goods stood idle on railroad sidings and in warehouses. Local 807 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters stood firm on the declaration that the 31 cents an hour increase was its goal. The big operators' best offer had come from the Motor Carrier Association and the State Motor Truck Association, the offer—12½ cents per hour.

On the West coast, in Hollywood, the Conference of Studio Unions and the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes continued a dispute over who should be doing the carpentry connected with movie sets, and who the painting.

MR. WALLACE DEMURS

While shortages and strikes plagued the national mind, our relations with the rest of the world became increasingly tangled. On September 10, President Truman received his Secretary of Commerce, Henry A. Wallace, and approved a speech Wallace was to give before a P. A. C. anti-Dewey, anti-Republican rally in New York on September 12. When the speech turned out to be a direct turn-about of United States policy in dealing with Russia, the President and the administration turned rosy with embarrassment. The situation limped along until September 17 when a 4,000-word Wallace-to-Truman letter dated July 23 was published (in error). In this, Wallace warned that an aggressive attitude toward Russia is dangerous. He also criticized Bernard Baruch's position on atomic energy control.

The reverberations were world-wide. Moscow was pleased; Britain expressed "pained surprise"; France was confused, with her Communists happy and her other groups deprived of hope for peace. The American delegation at the peace conference was placed in the position of skiers whose skis are suddenly whisked out from under them.

On September 20, the president asked Mr. Wallace for his resignation. The harm had been done, however, and the Democratic party headquarters was plunged into depression. The foreign policy-conscious and independently-minded voters on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts would not forget this slip in a hurry.

On October 2, Bernard Baruch made public his attempts to have ex-

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Secretary Wallace admit his ignorance of the American plan for atomic control in its entirety and to make a statement of full-support of the plan. Wallace had countered with the statement that "many points of the [Baruch] policies are identical with my proposals" and that Baruch had overlooked the "major thesis of my letter to the President—the absence of an attitude of mutual trust and confidence between the United States and Russia." Baruch was correct in his assertion that the attack had endangered delicate negotiations and confused the people of the United States and the world. Confusion seemed to rule the roost in Washington.

A CONVENING

Fred M. Vinson, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, donned his robes of office and opened the autumn session of the court on October 7. For the first time in a year, nine justices were seated on the bench. As the court began, a study of several hundred petitions for review, the nation watched for signs of tension. The court is divided in its interpretation of legal procedure. One faction follows a "progressive" philosophy; the other believes that social and economic beliefs should not sway a justice in his decisions on legal matters. The personal feud between Justice Robert H. Jackson and Justice Hugo L. Black, now that Justice Jackson has returned from the Nuremberg trials, will be another problem for the new chief justice.

TRUCULENT TURTLE AND DREAMBOAT

The United States Navy's Lockheed Neptune P-2-V, Truculent Turtle, adorned with a picture of a patient turtle astride an "air-cycle" with a rabbit's foot attached to his belt, broke the record for non-stop flight distances on October 1. In a flight from Perth, Australia, to Columbus, Ohio, it covered 11,236 miles in 55 hours and 15 minutes with a crew of four men, 8,000 gallons of gas and a gross load of 85,000 pounds.

On October 6 the Army Air Forces' Superfortress, Pacusan Dreamboat, landed in Cairo after a breath-taking flight over the top of the world from Honolulu, 10,854 statute miles away. The flight took 39 hours, 36 minutes and 15 seconds. It established the possibility of global air traffic by the Arctic route.

• A melting sermon was being preached in a country church. The entire congregation, with the exception of one man, was weeping. On being asked why he did not weep with the rest, the man replied: "I belong to another parish!"

• A good wife should be like a snail, always keeping within her own house; but she should not be like the snail and carry all she has upon her back.

Secondly, she should be like an echo, speaking when she is spoken to; but she should not be like an echo always to have the last word.

Thirdly, she should be like a town clock, always keeping time and regularity; but she should not be like a town clock to speak so loud that all the town may hear.

—*Journeyman Barber*

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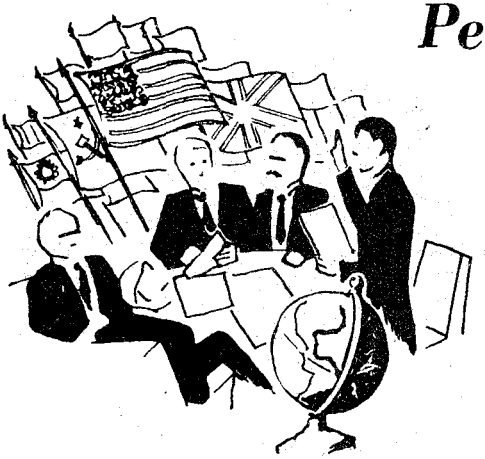
Keep Your Eye on the Peace Table



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FORUM FEATURES

In this issue we welcome **Bruno Lasker,** who writes for us on "Nationalism in Northeast Asia?" Author of "Southeast Asia Enters the Modern World," Mr. Lasker is acting research director of the Southeast Asia Institute in New York. As a former research associate of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Mr. Lasker has visited and lived in many parts of Eastern Asia and is at present engaged in a study of Southeast Asia's heritage of colonial and pre-colonial forms of "unfreedom."

Paul W. Tappan, who last appeared in these pages in October, 1945 ("Divorced in Reno?"), contributes a provocative study of "Official Homicide." Attacking the municipal police system, particularly in New York City, Mr. Tappan maintains that expediency is now the rule. He calls for better protection for the suspect, who nowadays is often shot first and exonerated afterward, because of indifferent police administration. Mr. Tappan, Ph.D., Jur. Sc.D., is well qualified to criticize both as a lawyer and a sociologist. He has taught at the University of Wisconsin, at Miami University, and is now associated with Queens College and New York University.

The final article in the series, "The Expert in Democracy," is written by **Otto Kraushaar,** of the Department of Philosophy at Smith College. Mr. Kraushaar writes us: "Since the subject is quite different from the articles which have preceded it, I could not see my way clear to arguing in it some of the controversial points which the previous discussions raised. I hope you are not disappointed over the rather high degree of concurrence and the polite tone which the three of us have used in referring to each other's effusion." And being a modest contributor, Mr. Kraushaar adds: "I suspect you had hoped for some heat (and perhaps more light also?)." Which suspicion we are quick to give the lie and believe FORUM readers agree with us! As you may remember, Mr. Kraushaar writes with a background of practical experience as well as scholarship, after three years as an Education officer in the American Army. He has traveled in the Middle East, Africa, the North Atlantic, the South Pacific, the Philippines, Japan and Korea; served as Education Officer on General MacArthur's staff and planned and organized the Army post-hostilities education program for all United States Army troops in the Pacific.

This month's Forum, "Shall we leave our troops in China?" is a discussion of one of the sore spots between the United States and the U.S.S.R. Do you agree with **Mr. Dilke** that we must support Chiang with troops, or favor **Mr. Williams'** plea to bring the marines home? "Our Rostrum" will welcome your comment.

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